April 6, 1998 49145 $3.50 U.S., $4.50 Canadian

seball
trikes Out
— Curt Smith

Lowry: Slouching toward Suburbia

# NATIONAL REVIEW




## A KEN STARR FILM

# THE UNSINKABLE ADMINISTRATION

Ledeen · Ponnuru · Troy · Long · The Editors

PLUS: Feminism Lives — *Wendy Shalit* · Dead
Grisham's Law — *James Bowman* · The Art Prol

#BXNCMYG ***** 5-DIGIT 94301
#94301UZ255BV003# 9918
88 NTRY 506 P00126
RON UNZ
555 BRYANT ST #371
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1704

0 931585 3

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

World Wide Web http://www.nationalreview.com

*Presenting*

# Signet

NOBILITAS ET TRADITIO

ROYAL RESERVE

## *Three good reasons why you don't need a castle to feel like a king.*

Crafted to the standards of old world nobility by the highest skilled artisans in the Dominican Republic, makers of Dunhill, Montecristo, Royal Jamaica, H.Upmann, Montecruz, Onyx, and other distinguished cigars.

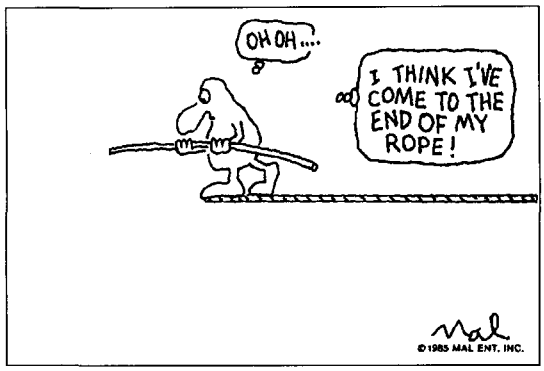
**LIMITED AVAILABILITY**

CALL 1-800-221-4134 FOR THE TOBACCONIST NEAREST YOU.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# NATIONAL REVIEW

APRIL 6, 1998 VOL. L, NO. 6




## COVER STORY

22 ***Scandal File***
**Michael Ledeen** reveals what Bill Clinton learned from the Godfather. . . . **Ramesh Ponnuru** doesn't accept David Brock's apology. . . . **Daniel E. Troy** makes the case for presidential indictments. . . . **Rob Long** explains why Hollywood is star-struck over Bill Clinton.

## ARTICLES

30 ***Nonjudgment Day***
**Richard Lowry** wishes the suburbs weren't so tolerant. . . . After reading James Van Praagh's *Talking to Heaven*, **David Klinghoffer** has doubts about the American religious revival.

34 ***Child's Ploy***
**Jacob Sullum** smokes out the reality behind the rhetoric about childhood smoking.

36 ***Feminism Lives!***
**Wendy Shalit** discovers a redeeming aspect of sexual-harassment law.

38 ***Joy Ride***
**John J. Miller** explains why our present system of auto insurance means pain and suffering for America's drivers.

40 ***Scout's Honor***
**E. V. Kontorovich** worries that the Boy Scouts are being prepared for the Nineties.

42 ***Charter Reformer***
**Clint Bolick** finds that Arizona's superintendent of schools deserves academic honors.

44 ***The Old Ballgame***
The time for our national pastime may indeed be past, laments **Curt Smith**.

## BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

51 **James Bowman** knows why yuppies love John Grisham and his latest best-selling novel, *The Street Lawyer*. . . . In *Star-Spangled Men*, Nathan Miller identifies America's ten worst Presidents, not including the incumbent. **Florence King** counts the duds. . . . In *Spin Cycle: Inside the Clinton Propaganda Machine*, Howard Kurtz sticks close to the facts. With material this slippery, that's a sound strategy, writes **Ramesh Ponnuru**. . . . John Polkinghorne's *Belief in God in a Scientific Age* points to the dwindling area of conflict between faith and reason. **Patrick Glynn** urges scientists and theologians alike to take heed. . . . *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations*, by David Landes, reminds **Steve Sailer** of the roles played by environment, genes, and culture in guiding the course of history. . . . In Manhattan's Union Square, **Richard Brookhiser** meets some endearing art proletarians. . . . **John Simon** admires *Twilight*, a rare crime movie that makes sense, and instructs any readers who enjoy *The Big Lebowski* to quit reading his movie column.

## SECTIONS

2 ***Letters***
4 ***From the Editor***
6 ***For the Record***
9 ***The Week***
48 ***Help***
50 ***Letter from Al***
61 ***Books in Brief***
62 ***On the Right***
64 ***The Misanthrope's Corner***

***Cover illustration by Roman Genn***

***World Wide Web*** http://www.nationalreview.com

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. ©National Review, Inc., 1998. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc., to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc., to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668; phone, 815-734-1232, Monday–Friday, 7:30 A.M. to 10:30 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct classified advertising inquiries to: Classifieds Dept., National Review, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016 or call 212-679-7330. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668. Printed in the U.S.A.

RATES: $59.00 a year (25 issues). Add $21.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# LETTERS

### *Give Limits a Chance*

As a longtime conservative, I was greatly disappointed to read your article about U.S. Term Limits ["Terminally Inept?," March 9]. The U.S. Term Limits strategy of asking congressional candidates to limit their own terms is a sound one considering that talk of a constitutional amendment is largely a charade. Conservatives will be happier when more congressmen limit themselves. Voting patterns on taxes, the NEA, the pay raise, and social issues as reflected in the latest Christian Coalition scorecard show that self-limited Members clearly stand above their peers. Since career politicians consistently fail to cut big government, it's high time we give citizen legislators a chance. In promoting this strategy, don't expect U.S. Term Limits to give up its nonpartisan credibility by favoring Republicans.

*Paul M. Weyrich*
*President*
*Free Congress Foundation*
*Washington, D.C.*

John J. Miller reports that some in the GOP are furious because we will not help them use term limits for partisan advantage. Voters prefer citizens to career politicians. Republicans who refuse to sign the Term Limits Declaration are pursuing careers in Congress instead of the interests of their party. That is a problem, but it's not our problem.

*Eric O'Keefe*
*President*
*Americans for Limited Terms*
*Spring Green, Wis.*

### *Deflating Deflation*

George Selgin's "The Price Is Right" [March 9] makes some solid points in favor of a productivity-induced, gradual, deflation. However, he overlooks one strong argument against deflation and errs in his analysis of the 1920s' stock-market surge.

The point he overlooks is that deflation would increase the real value of both the minimum wage and transfers to the able-bodied unemployed. This could aggravate unemployment among exactly those workers whose increases in productivity tend to lag the average.

His analysis of the 1920s is that the Fed created a stock-market boom that precipitated the bust that followed. This is wrong. Based on what we now know about the relationship among interest rates, inflation, and corporate earnings, the stock market was not abnormally overvalued in the late 1920s. The economic and financial market surges of the 1920s were based on supply-side policies that reduced tax rates from 73 per cent to 25 per cent and kept government spending low.

If today we had stable prices, a small Federal Government, long-term interest rates at 3.5 per cent, a top tax rate of 25 per cent, and hefty tax exemptions based on family size, the Dow Jones would be surging toward 15,000, not 10,000, and it would be fairly priced at that.

*Robert Stein*
*Arlington, Va.*

*Mr. Stein wonders whether a policy of productivity-driven deflation would sponsor unemployment, given the presence of a government-mandated minimum wage. It would not, so long as the government did not persist in routinely raising the minimum wage. Under the present inflationary regime, increases in the minimum wage are justified mainly on the grounds that they merely serve to offset increases in the cost of living. That would no longer exist under a regime of secular deflation. On the contrary, grounds would exist for periodically* reducing *the minimum wage.*

*We may never know for certain whether or not stocks were overvalued in the 1920s. Still, it is certain that the era was one of rapidly expanding bank credit and business profits, sponsored by a Federal Reserve System that was more concerned with protecting the Bank of England's gold reserve than with avoiding a U.S. stock-market bubble.* —GS

### *Defining Darwinism*

With utter dismay I read your panel's responses to John McGinnis's arguments ["The Descent of Man," March 9] that conservative ethics and policies are bolstered by Darwinism. Gelernter and Fleming suggest that the "truth" of Darwinism has been "proved" beyond an educated elitist's reasonable doubt, which apparently consists of nothing more than majority opinion. That such inability or unwillingness to distinguish between naturalistic conjecture and observable science is demonstrated among conservative "thinkers" is itself disturbing.

Natural selection is observable and documented within, but not across, species; "punctuated equilibrium" is euphemistic for no transitional forms; fossil formation requires climatic catastrophe. Evolution cannot explain any of the variety in our universe, from geology to language to race.

If we conduct any reasoning on this foolish man's sand, the house of conservative thought crumbles, because conservative thought requires moral first principles, unattainable from Darwinism beyond mere opinion and expediency.

*Mark L. Oller*
*Bass Lake, Calif.*

The shrillness of Michael Behe's attacks on Darwinism and a conservative view of human nature is Carvillean in its flackery and avoidance of the obvious. As an apologist for Creationism, Behe dismisses any explanation of life's origins which lacks complete integrity and elegance.

But as Tom Wolfe has written concerning sociobiology, the present debate eerily resembles the moment in the Middle Ages when the Church forbade human dissection because it might dispel the notion that God created man in His own image. Behe takes the same approach to evolution, offering few explanations of his own beyond that which can be harmonized with theology.

*Evan E. Fitzmaurice*
*Austin, Tex.*

### *Expectant Soldier*

Your various articles on our hollow military and women in combat units [Feb. 9] have struck a responsive chord.

I spent 4 years on active duty with the U.S. Army and 26 years in the Army Reserves. My career spanned the draft Army, the volunteer Army, and now the co-ed Army. One of my biggest surprises involving the new Army occurred the first time I discovered that it now sells maternity BDUs (battle dress uniform, or camouflage fatigues). I guess this is so that the well-dressed pregnant combat soldier, when fixing bayonets and charging the enemy, won't be unduly constrained by her tight clothing.

*C. Anthony Bell*
*Clifton, N.J.*

### *Capital Games*

Richard Lowry's article on the White House stalling tactics [March 9] was excellent. One slight correction, however. Hockey's neutral zone trap is a bit more sophisticated than tackling opponents (as are White House tactics); the trap attempts to take away all passing lanes. But a Virginian can be forgiven for such an error.

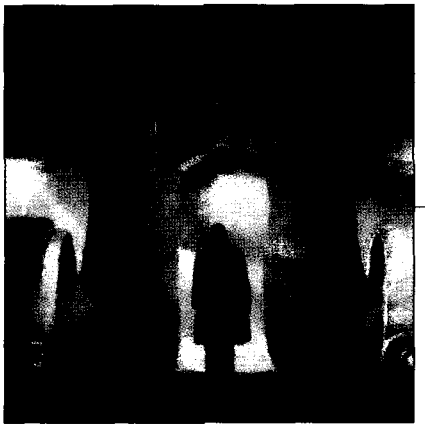
*Charles O'Brien*
*cobrien@polaris.clarkson.edu*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# FIXING HEALTH CARE ISN'T EXACTLY BRAIN SURGERY. (IF ONLY IT WERE THAT EASY.)

About the only aspect of the health care debate any two people might agree on is that the system needs work. We'd like to weigh in with a few ideas of our own since we're actually in the position to do something about it. ▪ First off, the paramount focus of health care must be quality. Which is why we're working to enable a level of health care never available under the old fee-for-service system. ▪ We can't do it alone. So we're joining with academic medicine to make the system better. We've pioneered and allocated $15 million to fund the Academic Medicine and Managed Care Forum. An ongoing gathering of our experts, and those from more than 30 leading universities and teaching hospitals. Including Johns Hopkins, Yale, Emory, Baylor, University of Pennsylvania and Stanford. Together, we're seeking new ways to help get patients the health care they need. ▪ Already, we send timely reminders that encourage members to see their doctors for immunizations to prevent illness and screenings that diagnose disease early enough to do something about it. One result has been a significant reduction in late-stage breast cancer. ▪ To better manage chronic diseases, we've created outreach efforts that have reduced asthma emergencies 60%, promoted eyesight-saving laser therapy for diabetics, and improved the quality of life for people with congestive heart failure. ▪ There's more work to be done. And we'll do more than our share of it. Because no matter how complex, it has never been our policy to turn our back on a problem. Whether it's that of a patient, or of an entire health care system.



Aetna US Healthcare

You'll feel better with us.®

©1998 Aetna U.S. Healthcare Inc. www.aetnaushc.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# NATIONAL REVIEW

April 6 issue; printed March 18

*Editor*
Richard Lowry

*Senior Editors*
Richard Brookhiser / Priscilla L. Buckley
Jeffrey Hart / Peter W. Rodman

*Managing Editor* Linda Bridges
*Washington Editor* Kate O'Beirne
*Articles Editor* Andrew Oliver
*Executive Editor* Matthew Carolan
*Literary Editor* David Klinghoffer
*National Reporter* Ramesh Ponnuru
*National Political Reporter* John J. Miller
*Economics Analyst* Ed Rubenstein
*Roving Correspondent* Radek Sikorski
*Art Director* Luba Kolomytseva
*Executive Secretary* Frances Bronson
*Assistant to Mr. Buckley* Tony Savage

*Editorial Associates*
Patricia B. Bozell / Kate Dwyer / Kathryn Jean Lopez
Tracy Lee Simmons / Jane Buckley Smith
Christopher R. Weinkopf

*Research Director*: Dorothy McCartney
*Librarian*: John J. Virtes
*Research Assistant*: Russell Jenkins
*Compositor*: Michael Ashton

*Contributing Editors*
Elliott Abrams / Wick Allison / Hadley Arkes
Tom Bethell / Peter Brimelow / Eliot A. Cohen
Brian Crozier / W. H. von Dreele
Andrew Ferguson / Neal B. Freeman
David Gelernter / John Gray / John Hillen
Florence King / Lawrence Kudlow
Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn / Anthony Lejeune
Mark R. Levin / Rob Long
Allan H. Meltzer / Stephen Moore
Richard John Neuhaus / Paul Craig Roberts
Peter Samuel / John Simon
Ralph de Toledano / Ernest van den Haag
Vin Weber / Timothy J. Wheeler

*President*
Thomas L. Rhodes
*Editors-at-Large*
Wm. F. Buckley Jr. / John O'Sullivan

*Contributors*
Digby Anderson / Aram Bakshian Jr.
Baloo / James Bowman / David Brudnoy
Richard C. Carpenter / Donald Coxe
John R. Coyne Jr. / Dinesh D'Souza
M. Stanton Evans / Chester E. Finn Jr.
Doug Gamble / James Gardner / George Gilder
Victor Gold / Charles R. Kesler
James Jackson Kilpatrick / Jan Lukas
D. Keith Mano / Charles Burton Marshall
Forrest McDonald / Brad Miner / Thomas Molnar
Joe Mysak / Michael Novak
Grover Joseph Rees / Alan Reynolds
Selden Rodman / William A. Rusher / J. O. Tate
Terry Teachout / Taki Theodoracopulos
S. L. Varnado / Richard Vigilante
Chilton Williamson Jr.

*Associate Publisher* Jack Fowler
*Assistant to the Publisher* Kevin Longstreet
*Assistant to the President* Barbara Nowack
*Chief Financial Officer* James X. Kilbridge
*Accounting Manager* Galina Veygman
*Treasurer* Rose Flynn DeMaio
*Business Services*
Alex Batey / Julie Crane
Vickie Manca / Kristie Hong Woo
***Circulation*** 212-679-7330
*Circulation Director* Theresa Maloney
*Circulation Manager* Jason Ng
***World Wide Web*** http://www.nationalreview.com
***Main Number*** 212-679-7330
***Subscription Inquiries*** 815-734-1232
***Washington Office*** 202-543-9226
***Advertising Sales*** 212-679-7330
*Advertising Director* Scott F. Budd
*Advertising Managers* Todd Westover, Tim Koorbusch
*Account Representative* Kerin Coyle
*Detroit Rep.* Joseph J. Colucci 248-626-9918
*Publisher*
Edward A. Capano


# *FROM THE* EDITOR

## Clinton Confesses; Deals Blow to Starr

**WASHINGTON, D.C., March 25**—In an extraordinary speech tonight, President Clinton appeared jointly with a Washington, D.C.-based therapist to confess that most of the sexgate allegations lodged against him are true, but that intensive counseling and a 12-step recovery program will allow him to continue "doing the people's business."

"I sincerely apologize," the President said in an emotional 12-minute speech against the dignified backdrop of the Oval Office, "that a difficult and emotionally barren childhood coupled with the political attachments I have had to endure pushed me into behavior over which I had no control and for which I bear no responsibility."

In a talk that is already drawing comparisons to then–Vice President Richard Nixon's Checkers speech and President Kennedy's Oval Office mea culpa after the Bay of Pigs, President Clinton often choked back tears and at one point held up a chart displaying the 12 steps of "Sex Addicts Anonymous" as he declared: "For me, and for the nation, it is time for the healing to begin."

Explaining that his condition is technically known as "satyriasis," and that it "afflicts thousands of hard-working Americans every year," Clinton pledged to request increased National Institutes of Health funding for sex afflictions and to lead a "national dialogue" on out-of-control sexual behavior.

Initial reaction from both sides of the aisle on Capitol Hill was favorable. "I think we all can learn something from the President's courageous address tonight," said Sen. Ted Kennedy (D., Mass.). Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott remarked, "The President really does get it." Meanwhile, Speaker Newt Gingrich predicted quick approval for Clinton's proposed NIH spending increases.

White House aides tell of frenzied days in the run-up to the speech, as former Clinton advisor Dick Morris was called back to the White House to advise on recovery programs and pollster Mark Penn tested whether the phrase "incorrigible sexual predator" or "victim of obsessive passions" made a better impression on the public.

In a grueling session over pizza and soda in a West Wing office late last night, President Clinton repeatedly reworked and rehearsed the speech, practicing the dabbing of tears even after exhausted aides assured him he had mastered the maneuver. According to insiders, the First Lady coached the President and inserted one of the speech's most memorable lines: "Yes, at times, I loved too much."

Analysts from across the political spectrum agreed that the speech represents a serious setback for Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr, who now risks seeming insensitive to a President who has movingly bared his soul to the American public.

Clinton's defenders were quick to go on the attack. "It's time for the witch-hunt to stop," said James Carville in a heated exchange with wife Mary Matalin on ABC's *Nightline*. "So the President's got a problem? What's Ken Starr gonna do, put him in jail for it?"

Clinton lawyer Bob Bennett called the speech a "vindication," and maintained that the President's confession "demonstrates once and for all that he has been the victim of a campaign of lies, engineered to drum him from office—when we all know now these were only the innocent gropings of a well-meaning but troubled man."

On one front, reaction to the President's speech was muted. Even after the President talked of numerous liaisons in the Oval Office with his client—"some on this very rug"—Monica Lewinsky's attorney William Ginsburg refused to acknowledge that she had had sex with the President.

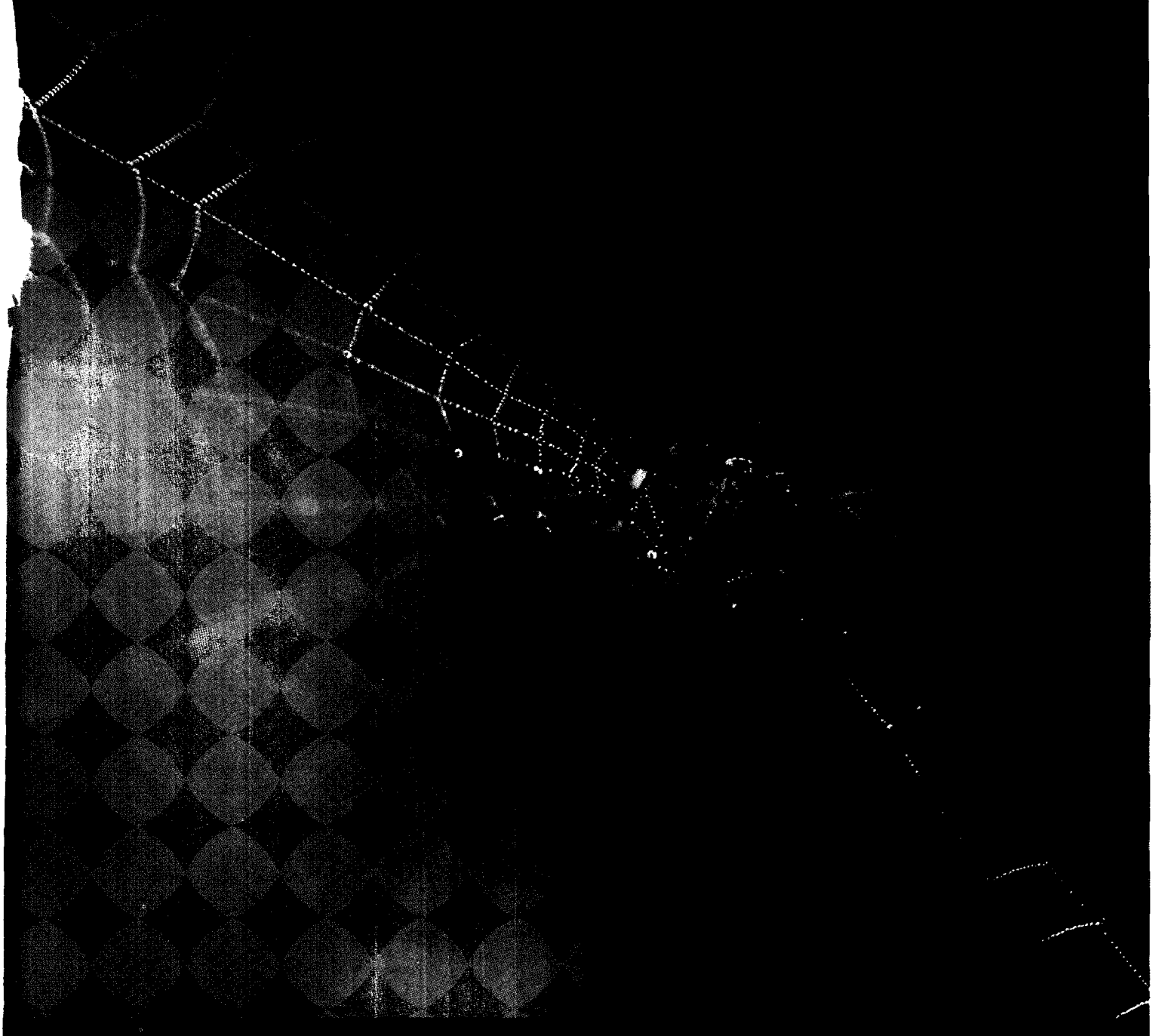
"Larry, my client is sticking by the second of her three credible and entirely truthful versions of events," he said in an hour-long interview on CNN's *Larry King Live*. "All I'm going to say is that the President is a man of honor."

—RICHARD LOWRY



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# UNDERNEATH ITS COLD, WICKED EXTERIOR LIES THE HEART OF A PRUDENT ENGINEER.



Inch closer to the spider's web, and you'll witness an ingenious technical triumph. Pound for pound, not even steel can match the strength of its silk. At Phillips, we appreciate bold engineering, which explains why we attract the brightest young talent, including Lori Hasselbring, Ph.D., P.E., and Mark Lashier, Ph.D., P.E. Both were recently named "Young Engineer of the Year" by the National Society of Professional Engineers. And both make brilliant examples of what it means to be The Performance Company.

**PHILLIPS PETROLEUM COMPANY**

*For a copy of our annual report, call 918-661-3700, or write to: Phillips Annual Report, B-31, Adams Bldg., Bartlesville, OK 74004, or visit us at www.phillips66.com.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# *FOR THE* RECORD

■ Fox TV poll: Twice as many Americans believe **Saddam Hussein** will keep promise and permit inspections (36 per cent) as believe **Bill Clinton** will tell what happened with **Monica Lewinsky** (16 per cent). Iraqi dictator not honest or trustworthy, say 95 per cent. . . . NBC/*Wall Street Journal* poll: Half of public believes Clinton had affair with Lewinsky, up from 39 per cent three weeks earlier. . . . ABC's **Sam Donaldson**: "**Hillary Clinton**, I'm convinced, is masterminding the defense in this Monica Lewinsky case." . . . Right-wing conspiracy vaster than we thought? Old photo of Lewinsky and first boyfriend reveals copy of **Ayn Rand**'s *Anthem* in background. . . . **Ken Starr** attacked for having Lewinsky's mother testify, but nobody criticized Clinton lawyers last October for compelling **Paula Jones**'s mother to do the same. . . . Job interview? White House press secretary **Mike McCurry** dines with U.S. Chamber of Commerce president. . . . Clinton moves Peking trip from November to this June, following start of Paula Jones trial on May 27.

■ Republican Leadership Council's **Mark Miller** issues press release blasting "the intolerant viewpoints" of social conservative **Gary Bauer**, who bought ads for special election in California highlighting support by Democrat **Lois Capps** for partial-birth abortion. Reaction from RLC advisory-board member Sen. **Jon Kyl** (R., Ariz.): "Mark Miller's divisive and intemperate comments do not reflect my views. The [RLC] was created to unite, not divide, Republicans." . . . NBC/*Wall Street Journal* poll: Americans prefer GOP control of Congress, 41 to 37 per cent. . . . House Appropriations Committee Chairman **Bob Livingston** (R., La.) has 77 votes to become Speaker if **Newt Gingrich** steps down, reports *Roll Call*. . . . Clinton endorses Internet Tax Freedom Act, awaits action from Congress. . . . Former Sen. **Bob Packwood** (R., Ore.) makes first public appearance at GOP gathering since 1995 resignation. . . . House approves free-trade bill for sub-Saharan Africa. Of 53 co-sponsors, at least 30 were against fast-track legislation in November. Most are black Democrats. . . . Sen. **Harry Reid** (D., Nev.) on bringing home the bacon: "The word pork is not offensive to me."

■ Partial-birth-abortion ban stalled at federal level, but continues to advance in states. Florida becomes 19th state forbidding practice as legislature overrides Democratic Gov. **Lawton Chiles**'s veto. Virginia and West Virginia set to become 20th and 21st. . . . Following lead of state attorneys general suing tobacco companies, mayors of Detroit and Philadelphia consider lawsuit against gun makers for cost of crime. . . . Former New York City Mayor **Ed Koch** (D.) volunteers to record commercials for re-election of Gov. **George Pataki** (R.). . . . New York GOP may not run candidate against Comptroller **Carl McCall**, a black Democrat, to discourage high black turnout. . . . Judge invalidates Miami mayoral election after scandal probe. Local resident, novelist **Carl Hiassen**, suggests: "Have **Jimmy Carter** come down and monitor the new Miami elections, as he did in Nicaragua, Haiti, and Panama."

■ Tiny Tangier Island in Chesapeake Bay refuses Warner Bros. request to film scenes there for movie starring **Kevin Costner** and **Paul Newman**, on grounds of sex, bad language, and drinking in script. . . . Department of Education spends $1.3 million on captioning ***Jerry Springer*** and other daytime TV shows for deaf. "If you want to see something *really* offensive," says Libertarian Party release, "watch C-SPAN while Congress votes to squander our money on such ridiculous programs." . . . California State Board of Education votes to end bilingual-education mandate, following request by Pacific Legal Foundation and Center for Equal Opportunity. California Teachers Association admits that more than 50 per cent of members support Proposition 227, which seeks to move bilingual-education students into English-speaking classrooms. (CTA opposes it.) . . . Guide published by League of Conservation Voters grades members of Congress. Perfect pro-environment score requires two pro-abortion votes. . . . The Polling Company asks men whether, if they were on the *Titanic*, they would give up lifeboat seat to woman or child, and 80 per cent say yes. Asks women: Would men give up seats? 50 per cent say no.

*"If you tell them you work in the White House, they expect too much on the first date."*

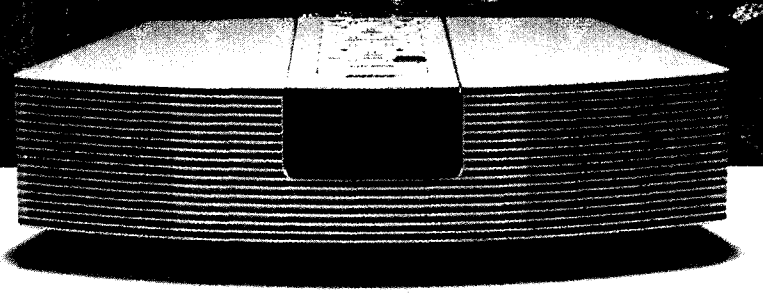
■ Subliminal diplomacy? Estonia president **Lennart Meri** wears European Union tie and NATO tie clip in official photo. Estonia seeks entry into both organizations. . . . Chinese Premier **Li Peng**: "The incompatibilities of government institutions to the development of a socialist market economy have become increasingly apparent." . . . South Korea sends 50,000 tons of food to starving North Korea, much more to follow if shipment stays out of army's hands. . . . Portugal debating whether to hold public referendum on legalizing abortion. . . . Poland will return citizenship to Jews forced out of country by Communists in 1968. . . . Iranian president **Mohammed Khatemi** asks annual pilgrimage to Mecca to be free of "fanaticism, backwardness, and the propensity to impose one's views." . . . **Linda McCartney**, wife of ex-Beatle **Paul**, plans to sponsor all-vegetarian pro cycling team, believed to be world's first.

■ New Mexico law says ties in municipal elections must be broken by game of chance. Associated Press reports draw in mayoral election in Estancia (pop. 2,634) between incumbent **James Farrington** and challenger **JoAnn Carlson**. Farrington, dealt ace-high flush in poker contest, keeps job.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Sound this big from a radio?



Not just big, but full, rich, and incredibly lifelike. You literally have to hear the Bose® Wave® radio to believe it. Very simply, it's like no other radio made. It's small enough to fit just about anywhere, yet its patented acoustic waveguide speaker technology enables it to fill the room with big natural stereo sound. No wonder *Popular Science* magazine called the Wave radio "a sonic marvel."

The Wave radio is designed for convenience as well as great sound. There's a handy remote control, pre-set buttons for your favorite stations, and many other features. You can even

connect it to a CD or cassette player to enjoy your favorite music.

## Enjoy the convenience of six interest-free payments.

The Wave radio is available directly from Bose. Simply call the toll-free number to learn about our in-home trial and satisfaction guarantee. When you call, ask about our six-month payment plan.

Only Bose offers all this advanced technology. And for just $349. Call 1-800-681-BOSE, ext. R7674, or return the coupon.

And learn all about a small wonder.

Order before June 30, 1998, for free shipping.

## Call 1-800-681-BOSE, ext. R7674.

Please specify your color choice when ordering the Wave® radio: ☐ Imperial White ☐ Graphite Gray

Mr./Mrs./Ms. _____ ( ) _____ ( )

Name (Please Print) Daytime Telephone Evening Telephone

Address _____

City State Zip

BOSE®
Better sound through research.

Or mail to: Bose® Corporation, Dept. CDD-R7674, The Mountain, Framingham, MA 01701-9168, or fax to 1-800-862-BOSE (1-800-862-2673). Ask about FedEx® delivery service.

©1998 Bose Corporation. Covered by patent rights issued and/or pending. Installment payment plan and free shipping offer not to be combined with any other offer. Installment payment plan available on credit card orders only. Price does not include applicable sales tax. Price and/or payment plan subject to change without notice. FedEx service marks used by permission.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

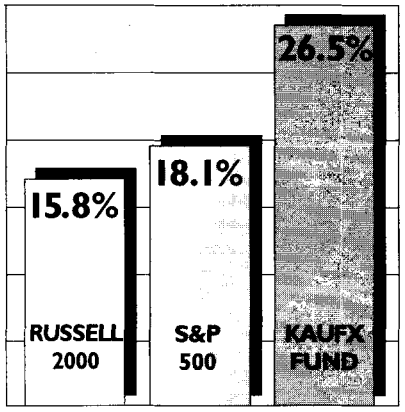
# The Kaufmann Fund®

## A Small Company Aggressive Growth Fund

# #1 General Equity Fund for the Ten Years Ending 12/31/97

*— per Lipper Analytical Services**

**Ten-Year Compounded Annual Return**




Kaufmann Five -Year Return.. 19.1%
Kaufmann One -Year Return.. 12.6%

Periods ending 12/31/97
per Lipper Analytical Services

## "Tough Guys Finish FIRST"

*— Mutual Funds Magazine*, April '95

Lawrence Auriana and Hans Utsch, Portfolio Co-managers with over 65 years of combined Wall Street experience

## "One of the Best Funds for Retirement"

*— Fortune's Retirement Guide*
*— Money Magazine's Retire with Money*

*For a prospectus call:* **(800) 666-9233**

*24 hours per day, 7 days a week*

IRA

*Out of 501 equity funds for the period of 12/31/87 - 12/31/97.

Total returns for periods ending December 31, 1997 are historical and include change in share price, reinvestment of dividends and capital gains. There is a 0.2% redemption fee and a 12b-1 fee in excess of 0.25%. The S&P is an unmanaged index consisting of the common stock of 500 publicly traded U.S. companies. The Russell 2000 Index consists of 2,000 small and mid-cap companies. For more complete information including charges, expenses, and risks on small-cap stocks please read the prospectus carefully before you invest. The performance cited represents past performance which is not indicative of future results; investment performance fluctuates; fund shares when redeemed may be worth more or less than original cost. The prices of small company stocks are generally more volatile than those of large companies.

**The Kaufmann Fund, Inc.**

140 East 45th Street, New York, NY 10017 • Fax (212) 661-2266

**Internet - http://www.kaufmann.com Prodigy - Jump Kaufmann AOL - Keyword: Kaufmann**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# THE WEEK

■ Scientists revising their calculations about the asteroid that was supposed to strike earth in 2028 have concluded that it already has. Its name was Kathleen Willey.

■ Slap the President of the United States? By all means, ladies—as often as necessary.

■ Mr. Clinton's actual sworn response to a question—it doesn't much matter what question, does it?—as to what he told Monica Lewinsky about testifying in the Paula Jones case: "And I said that you-all might call every woman I ever talked to and ask them that, and so I said you would qualify, or something like that. I don't, I don't think we ever had more of a conversation than that about it, but I might have mentioned something to her about it, because when I saw how long the witness list was, or I heard about it, before I saw, but actually by the time I saw it her name was in it, but I think that was after all this had happened. I might have said something like that, so I don't want to say for sure I didn't, because I might have said something like that. . . ."

■ Conservatives in Congress want to reinstate the Reagan Administration's so-called Mexico City policy, which barred sending U.S. funds to organizations that commit or advocate abortion abroad, and they have added an amendment to that effect to a bill concerning State Department reorganization and United Nations dues. If the bill passes with the provision, President Clinton has promised to veto it, even though it includes some of his own highest priorities. Conservatives will then attach the language to the bill replenishing the International Monetary Fund. The Administration and the press will surely say that extremism over abortion is holding up foreign policy. Which is true—just not in the way they mean it.

■ Sen. Mitch McConnell (R., Ky.), naïvely thinking that Congress should not renew a law held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, offered an amendment to the Senate's massive transportation bill that would have removed racial preferences in federal contracting. It lost, 58 to 37, thanks to defections by 15 Republicans, including Al D'Amato (N.Y.), Dirk Kempthorne (Idaho), John McCain (Ariz.), and John Warner (Va.). (South Carolina Sen. Fritz Hollings was the only Democrat to vote for the measure.) The Senate Democrats' leader, Tom Daschle (N.D.), said the vote was a "clear demonstration" of "why minorities and women seem to be less and less comfortable with the Republican Party." Actually it was a clear demonstration that some Republicans seem to be less and less comfortable with principle.

■ Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (Miss.) refused to join the small but vocal crowd of Republicans who hope Puerto Rico will become the country's 51st state. Capital wits say Lott wants his home state to keep the distinction of being the nation's poorest. Lott's real reason is that Puerto Rican statehood lacks support among rank-and-file Republicans. The pro-statehood bill passed in the House by just one vote, mainly on the strength of Democrats eager to have the island elect more Democrats to Congress. Only 43 Republicans supported the bill, in spite of an intense but farfetched lobbying effort to portray the island as a conservative opportunity society in the Caribbean. Lott has said he does not plan a Senate vote any time soon. So hold off on that 51st star.

■ President Clinton's FY 1999 defense budget continues the decline in military spending. Next year's budget, adjusted for inflation, represents a 1.1 per cent real decline from this year. With diminished resources, the Pentagon robs Peter to pay Paul. Already it has adjusted last year's five-year plan to spend $16 billion less on future weapons and equipment and $25 billion more on current operations. The procurement budget paying for new equipment has fallen by some 70 per cent since the Reagan buildup. Republicans who signed the 1997 balanced-budget agreement find themselves in a box. If they complain about eroding readiness, the Administration boosts current spending at the expense of procurement. New procurement money cannot be added because of the ceiling negotiated in the budget agreement. The only solution discovered so far: emergency funding for current operations in Bosnia and the Persian Gulf. Republicans should pass a binding resolution to the appropriations bill

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

forbidding more raids upon sparse procurement money—before the entire defense budget becomes a matter for "emergency funding."

■ The returns keep coming in on NAFTA and the current GATT agreement, and they are inconvenient for protectionists. Significant gains occurred in the very trades whose imminent extinction Patrick Buchanan and Ross Perot prophesied. From 1993 to 1997, U.S. manufacturing employment rose 2.6 per cent, reversing two decades of decline; and manufacturing's share of GDP increased from 17 to 19.1 per cent. Among those sectors adding more than 100,000 employees were manufacturers of motor vehicles, fabricated metal products, industrial machinery, and electronics. Lumber and wood fabricators, primary-metal industries, and makers of computers and office equipment also added workers. Steady gains in durable-goods employment offset job losses among makers of non-durable goods by a ratio of 3.6 to 1. Against trends like these, Americans need no protection.

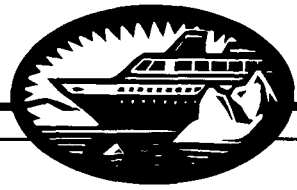
■ "Prosperity dissolves ideology." That's how *U.S. News & World Report* recently described the political atmosphere in the cash-rich states, 32 of which are run by Republican governors. With "treasuries bulging" the governors are "cover[ing] their bets with both liberal and conservative voters." One example: Republican Gov. George Pataki of New York, who proposes increasing state spending $5 billion, with hefty doses of education, child-care, and arts initiatives, and cutting taxes by only $700 million, or about 1 per cent of the overall budget. That level of tax relief is about the national average, according to Stephen Moore of the Cato Institute. "It's a real disappointment on the Republican side," notes Moore. "With big, big budget surpluses, this is an ideal time for governors to be making dramatic tax cuts. But for the most part they are spending the money." What will they do when things go badly? We can see the headlines already: "Poverty Dissolves Ideology."

■ One of the bright spots in the federal judiciary's recent record has been its withdrawal from managing public schools. In a series of decisions, the Rehnquist Court has ruled that statistics cannot prove racial discrimination, that courts overseeing desegregation remedies must set reasonable targets for ending oversight, and that localities cannot be held liable for civil-rights violations of which they have not been judged guilty. These gains may be in jeopardy now that the Court has refused to hear an appeal by the state of Missouri regarding the 12-year-old court-ordered desegregation program in St. Louis. That program buses 12,700 black city students to county schools, and 1,100 white county students into St. Louis. The state pays the bill to the tune of $2 million per day, or a total of $1.6 billion so far. Yet no court has ever judged St. Louis or any of the county districts guilty of a relevant violation. Between the St. Louis desegregation order and another for Kansas City, Missourians have spent more on desegregation than all other states but California combined. No significant improvement in educational achievement has occurred in either city—but then, that has never been the courts' objective.

■ "Agonizingly close" to agreement was how British Prime Minister Tony Blair described the state of the Northern Ireland "peace process." Negotiators have indeed agreed that the province will in future be governed by three bodies: a legislative Northern Ireland Assembly based on power-sharing between the Catholic and Protestant communities; a cross-border body (reporting to London, Dublin, and Belfast) with executive powers; and a consultative Council of the Isles on which absolutely everyone, including the proposed new Scottish Assembly, will be represented. What remains, however, is the hard part: deciding how much power each of these bodies will have. The Unionist parties will be heavily pressured to accept the kind of extensive powers for the cross-border Executive that Protestants fear are the high road to a united Ireland. Check the precedents: after an All-Ireland Council was accepted at the 1973 Sunningdale talks, a Protestant general strike destroyed the entire settlement one year later. What if the Unionists reject a similar settlement today? London and Dublin would then put it to the people in a referendum, constructing an unstable majority from most of the Catholics and, say, one-third of the Protestants. And then? With the IRA smiling on the sidelines, the British Army would have to enforce it—not, as now, against one-third of the Catholics, who make up one-third of Northern Ireland's population, but against two-thirds of the Protestants, who make up two-thirds of the population. But as moderate men of all shades of opinion assure us: The peace process must continue—no matter how many people get killed.

■ General Augusto Pinochet has retired as commander of Chile's armed forces and taken a seat in the Chilean Senate. His record as ruler of Chile from 1973 to 1990 is mixed. He saved his country from a government bent on ruinous economic policies and leaning toward the Soviet camp, with all that that implied for human rights. He established a free economy that has made Chile a model for the rest of Latin America. He abstained from personal corruption and ensured that the armed forces did too. While he was heavy-handed with the press and with opponents of his regime, Chile's human-rights abuses in the 1980s became an international issue mostly because Pinochet had had the temerity to pull a nation back from the brink of Sovietization. Toward the end of that decade, when Chile was ready to return to democracy, he tried to block the way. Reagan Administration pressure was needed to persuade him to allow Chileans to choose their government in a plebiscite. But it should be remembered that in that plebiscite Pinochet got about 40 per cent of the vote. The president of another Latin American country said privately at the time, "If I had ruled for fifteen years and asked for five more, no one would vote for me but


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



# CRUISE into ALASKA for 8 BUCKS.

AMERITRADE saves you money, no matter which way you trade.

$8 internet trades $12 touch-tone phone trades $18 broker-assisted trades

Commissions are flat rate. No limit on shares traded.

Let's face it. You've reached a point where you've got it down cold. When it comes to buying or selling shares of stock, you're decisive and ready to act. All you need is a low-cost way to make it happen. Welcome to Ameritrade. Efficient, inexpensive trading is what we're all about.

Whether you want to buy or sell 100 or 1,000 shares of Northrim Bank Alaska there are three ways to save with Ameritrade. If you want to use the internet, it'll cost just $8. By touch-tone phone, the fee is only $12. For broker-assisted trades, it's just $18. It doesn't get much smarter than this.

The next time you have a couple of minutes, give us a call and start trading smarter. It's incredibly easy. Once you do, the thought of paying one cent more than you have to on commissions will be positively chilling.

Ameritrade®
THE WAY TO TRADE. PERIOD.

*Open your Ameritrade account by April 15th and get a Free IRA for Life!*
*Call 1-800-441-8451. Or visit our website at www.ameritrade.com*

No annual fee IRA is valid for the duration of the account • Member NASD/SIPC • $2,000 minimum equity required to open your account
SIPC account protection is $500,000 with $100,000 for cash claims. Limit orders are an additional $5.00 • $10 million additional account protection provided
Copyright 1998. Ameritrade, Inc. • Northrim Bank is a registered trademark of Northrim Bank/Alaska

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

my mother." Far from being a repudiation, Pinochet's 40 per cent was a tribute to his rule.

■ The stepdaughter of Daniel Ortega has accused the former Nicaraguan president of molesting her repeatedly when she was a child. She has no apparent reason to lie, and her story is widely believed. It is a fitting coda to the Sandinista saga: victory in 1979; dictatorship, human-rights abuses, and alliance with the Soviets in the 1980s; electoral defeat in 1989; and now moral disgrace. Which is, after all, the history of Communism everywhere.

■ It could be the end of conservative journalism at Northwestern University. In early March, the student government took away the *Northwestern Chronicle*'s offices and meeting space—essentially shutting the paper down. Two years ago, university housing officials tried to stop the *Chronicle* from being delivered door to door in the dormitories, because it constituted a fire hazard (apparently the campus's daily uses fire-retardant paper). This time the student government is arguing that the *Chronicle* is a weak organization (now it will be really weak). Perhaps the paper's report on Northwestern's wasteful "Multicultural Advocate Program," published a week before the ruling, had something to do with it. The *Chronicle* is not alone. This year, papers at Amherst and Tufts suffered similar fates, according to the Intercollegiate Studies Institute. Massive thefts are commonplace—e.g., two thousand copies of *The Red and the Blue* were stolen at the University of Pennsylvania. Don't bother the kids; they've got multiculturalism finals coming up.

■ Just after *NR*'s March 23 issue was published, the *Wall Street Journal* ran a long story about the Packard Foundation. According to the *Journal*, David Packard instructed his children in a letter ten years ago to place great emphasis on funding population-control activities, including abortion. In our piece last issue ("Shaky Foundation," by Neal B. Freeman) we understated Packard's interest in population control. But it remains an open question whether he was an abortion enthusiast. The Foundation owes it to the public to release his letter. In any case, it is a shame that a patriot and great entrepreneur may now be remembered for supporting groups like NARAL.

■ Interviewed by NBC, the Rev. Billy Graham had this to say about President Clinton's sex life: ". . . a strong vigorous young man like he is . . . has such a tremendous personality that I think the ladies just go wild over him." A few days later NBC played that for the Rev. Jesse Jackson, and got this comment: "I think Reverend Billy Graham was . . . trying to say to America, Put this matter into perspective. And even [in] the worst-case scenario of adultery, there are ten Commandments. This is one of the ten." Flannery O'Connor, a tart observer of her Southern Protestant neighbors, would have to revise one of her titles: "Everything That Descends Must Converge."

## *A Dangerous Witness*

*Ms. Willey doesn't have big hair,*
*Nor does the color need repair.*
*Her eyes recalled the Misses Gish.*
*She wasn't cute or kittenish.*
*The ring of truth was so intense*
*And Bennett's lawyerly dissents*
*So phony, Steinem and Friedan*
*Looked daggers, spat, and kicked a can.*

—W. H. von Dreele

■ Dr. Jack Kevorkian, whose death toll has just reached 100, was an honored guest at *Time*'s anniversary party, greeted warmly by many of the other party-goers. Let us turn the floor over to C. S. Lewis: "It may be asked . . . whether we should not be a happier country if certain important people were pariahs as the hangman once was—blackballed at every club, dropped by every acquaintance, and liable to the print of riding-crop or fingers across the face if they were ever bold enough to speak to a respectable woman. It leads into the larger question whether the great evil of our civil life is not the fact that there seems now no medium between hopeless submission and full-dress revolution. Rioting has died out, moderate rioting. It can be argued that if the windows of various ministries and newspapers were more often broken, if certain people were more often put under pumps and (mildly—mud, not stones) pelted in the streets, we should get on a great deal better."

■ St. Diana has been credited with her first miracle cure, albeit pre-mortem. According to Liz Tilberis, editor-in-chief of *Harper's Bazaar*, the Princess of Wales used magical healing powers to lift the editor's platelet count and heal her of ovarian cancer. Miss Tilberis described the power as a "white light" which miraculously emanated from Princess Di. The next step: erecting a Temple of Diana where supplicants can shop, work out, and get their hair done in honor of their patroness.

■ The April *Mademoiselle* tells of one woman's experience working on a phone-sex line. Not only, she brags, did the job pull her out of debt, but "being a fantasy girl taught me how to put my inhibitions on hold." She was disappointed by some of her clients, however: "the minute they were done, they just hung up," she complains. They didn't feel *any* emotional attachment to her. Could it be that they were just using her for the sex?

■ Benjamin Spock had two careers. *Baby and Child Care*, published in 1946, at the start of the baby boom, helped millions of parents raise those babies. Then came the Six-


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Not if Washington bureaucrats get their hands on one of these. It contains the key to an encryption program—the computer product that lets you lock away information stored and transmitted by computers. The bureaucrats want the key to all American-made encryption programs.

They want to give the key to "government approved" third parties. Whoever the government picks might easily use it, abuse it, leak it or sell it.

Your files, and any files about you, could be up for grabs. Your spending habits. Your medical history. Your tax returns.

That's why we have formed Americans for Computer Privacy to fight for the privacy of all Americans.

**DON'T TRUST WASHINGTON BUREAUCRATS WITH THE KEY TO OUR LIVES.**

202-393-5222 www.computerprivacy.org

ACP
Americans for Computer Privacy

Membership List*: American Automobile Manufacturers Association, American Conservative Union, American Electronics Association, American Financial Services Association, American Small Business Alliance, Americans for Tax Reform, Business Software Alliance, Citizens for a Sound Economy, Computer and Communications Industry Association, Consumer Electronics Manufacturers Association, Eagle Forum, Electronic Commerce Forum, Electronic Industries Association, Information Technology Association of America, Information Technology Business Center, IEEE-USA, Law Enforcement Alliance of America, NASDAQ Stock Market, National Association of Manufacturers, National Retail Federation, National Rifle Association, Online Banking Association, Securities Industry Association, Small Business Survival Committee, Software Publishers Association, Telecommunications Industry Association, U.S. Chamber of Commerce. *As of March 1, 1998

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

### *The Arkansas McDougals*

*James, who sang for Mr. Starr,*
*Molders in his grave.*
*Susan's seen on* Larry King,
*Shackled like a slave.*
*Bill sent deepest sympathy*
*To the kin and kith.*
*Hillary was mute as a*
*Stonehenge monolith.*

—W. H. von Dreele

ties. Spock embraced the Left: he marched on the Pentagon, counseled draft dodgers, and ran for President on a fringe ticket. He cloaked his opinions in his reputation, asking, "What is the use of physicians" writing about child care, when grown-up sons could be "killed . . . for a cause that is ignoble?" Conservatives, led by Vice President Agnew, blasted back, seeing Spock as a fount of permissiveness, rioters, and flower children. Spock did urge a relaxation of strict feeding schedules. But those schedules were not traditional child care, but rather the nostrum of the previous baby expert, Dr. John B. Watson, a rigid behaviorist of the 1920s. (Watson also told parents and kids to shake hands, not to embrace.) Spock was far more sensible than the guru he replaced. Child-rearing requires wisdom and devotion that cannot be learned from a book. But much of what a book can usefully teach, Dr. Spock provided. Parents continue to be grateful to him.

■ Many people remember the cruiser *Indianapolis* only from the movie *Jaws*, where Quint expounds on it shortly before his return engagement with the shark. In July of 1945, the *Indianapolis* had delivered the components of The Bomb to the island of Tinian; it was heading to the Philippines when, around midnight on July 28, it was torpedoed by a Japanese submarine and sank in 12 minutes. Four hundred men were lost immediately. Eight hundred others, having survived the sinking, were left to face severe sunburn, dehydration, and incessant shark attacks. Only 320 were still alive five days later, when they were spotted by Lieutenant Adrian Marks of Ladoga, Indiana, piloting a Catalina. This plane was designed to land on still water, but Lieutenant Marks put it down amid 12-foot waves, loaded it with 55 survivors (some tied to the wings), and radioed for help. Finally the destroyer *Doyle* arrived. Speaking in 1975 at a survivors' reunion, Lieutenant Marks said, "I met you thirty years ago. I met you on a sparkling, sunswept afternoon of horror. I have known you through balmy tropic nights of fear. I will never forget you." A lawyer, Adrian Marks has now died at 81, in his Indiana hometown. May his service, and his country, remember him.

■ "BAGHDAD, Iraq (AP)—Iraq's parliament will recommend President Clinton and other Western leaders be brought to trial for war crimes against the Iraqi people, the official Iraqi News Agency said today." Hey, Iraq, get in line.

■ President Clinton announced that he plans to have his dog neutered. Please come up with your own jokes.

## More, and Worse

EVEN as the Clinton scandals have forced liberals to re-examine long-held beliefs about sexual harassment and independent counsels, so conservatives must also go back over some old ground. The reaction to former White House aide Kathleen Willey's testimony on *60 Minutes* showed that there is a class system in America, and that Mrs. Willey, like Lord Jim, is "one of us." She has no big hair (there will be no "trailer park" smears from James Carville). She has no Valley Girl couture (Monica Lewinsky's family is loaded, but tacky). As a result, even Patricia Ireland of the National Organization for Women sat up and took notice.

Other factors enhanced Mrs. Willey's credibility: she was a former Clinton supporter; she had been reluctant to talk (doing so only after being subpoenaed); her encounter with Mr. Clinton's id occurred during his Presidency, in a hall off the Oval Office, not in the dim Arkansas past. Her recollections depict a practiced abuser of power: "No, I'm not," the President replied when she asked if he wasn't afraid that someone might find him *in flagrante*. The disgusting detail of his arousal paints a picture of ungovernable compulsion—of a man excited by the situation, not the fungible objects of his desire.

The overworked Clinton clean-up brigade went into immediate reaction. The same White House which has refused for two months to release logs of calls and visits from Monica Lewinsky produced a dozen notes that Mrs. Willey sent the President after his trashy pass at her. They expressed no outrage—naturally enough. They were the notes of a political supporter and a job seeker, e.g.: "I have worked on various campaigns over the years and feel that I have much to offer your campaign. It is more important than ever, for our country, for our children and their children that you are re-elected and I am committed to that goal" (December 5, 1995). Didn't Anita Hill claim to have hung on in the same way? Yes—and we should now believe her, if we believe that a mid-level bureaucrat like Clarence Thomas had the same power to help (or hurt) as the leader of the free world. Should Kathleen Willey have slapped Bill Clinton's face? Yes. Do women in her situation slap? Yes: in the lays of ancient Rome, or Italian operas—or in an America where mores were clear, and cads would meet certain disgrace.

The Willey interview blew through the detritus that blocks this story like garbage in a gutter: David Brock's


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Buckley's Master Spy Returns!

First-time in trade paperback

For more than twenty years William F. Buckley Jr.'s Blackford Oakes novels have entertained readers and satisfied those who love adventure, wit, and intrigue. With the publication of *A Very Private Plot*, Buckley has brought the series to its satisfying conclusion.

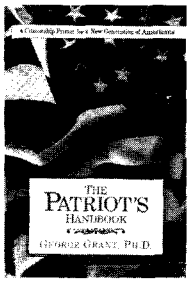
Readers of William F. Buckley's books have always relished his careful use of words and images. To find spy novels with fascinating plots, colorful characters, delightful writing, and a sense of humor is one reason his Blackford Oakes novels have been so compelling.

Now you can own the Blackford Oakes series when you order direct from Cumberland House Publishing. We will give you all ten books in the series, including the first ever paperback version of *A Very Private Plot* for only $89.20 (that's just $8.92 per book!) plus $8.00 shipping and handling! Individual titles are available at prices stated on the order form below plus shipping and handling.

Don't miss out on this special offer. Own William F. Buckley, Jr.'s entire Blackford Oakes Mystery series for just $89.20!

## Required Reading for all Americans!

*The Patriot's Handbook*, an introduction to the ideas, events, and personalities of the American experience, is a valuable resource for anyone who wishes to understand the nation's identity as it has developed from its founding until now. Included are key documents, speeches, songs, and profiles of the presidents and other leaders who have contributed to the nation's history.




*The Patriot's Handbook*
by George Grant
ISBN: 1-888952-03-2
Paperback, $14.95

**Cumberland House Book Offer, 431 Harding Industrial Park Dr., Nashville, TN 37211**

___ ***High Jinx*** ($10.95)
___ ***Marco Polo, If You Can*** ($10.95)
___ ***Mongoose, R.I.P.*** ($12.95)
___ ***The Patriot's Handbook*** ($14.95)
___ ***Saving the Queen*** ($10.95)
___ ***See You Later, Alligator*** ($10.95)
___ ***Stained Glass*** ($10.95)
___ ***Story of Henri Tod*** ($10.95)
___ ***Tucker's Last Stand*** ($10.95)
___ ***A Very Private Plot*** ($10.95)
___ ***Who's On First?*** ($10.95)

PAYMENT: ___CHECK ENCLOSED -OR-
BILL MY ___MASTERCARD ___VISA

Acct. No._____
Exp. Date: _____
Signature _____

**YES! I would like to order books from Cumberland House Publishing. Please send me the CHP books that I have checked. I have enclosed total payment of $_____ (add shipping/handling charges of $3.00 for first book, $1.00 for each additional book. If ordering all ten Buckley books, add $8.00 for shipping and handling.).**
**Send my copies to:**

**Name** _____
**Address** _____
_____
**City** _____
**State** _____ **Zip** _____

**Make checks payable to Cumberland House Publishing. Foreign orders add $4.00 per book. TN residents add sales tax of 8.25 %.**

**Order Direct: Call toll free 1-888-439-2665 or fax your order to 615-832-0633!**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

repentance (see Ramesh Ponnuru, p. 23); President Clinton's feigned anger over leaks that his side almost certainly engineered; dirt-digging on Linda Tripp (no doubt facilitated, as former Clinton guru Dick Morris pointed out in *The Hill*, by private investigators prying through Pentagon files).

The Willey interview also addressed the anxious plea, heard in so many places, that the whole sordid story should just go away. The White House has, with considerable success, sought to shape popular disgust into anger with Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr for pursuing such matters. If he would only go away, many Americans think, we would be left in peace. Kathleen Willey made the basic point that Kenneth Starr is not the cause of Bill Clinton's troubles. Kenneth Starr did not put his hands on her. Kenneth Starr did not force her to put her hand on him. Whatever is the right name for what we are going through—nightmare, mudbath, farce—Bill Clinton is the one who put us here, and keeps us here.

The President has other problems. Did Democratic fundraiser Nathan Landow encourage Mrs. Willey to lie, as Vernon Jordan and the author of the "talking points" memo may have encouraged Monica Lewinsky and Linda Tripp to do? (Even Al Hunt, who asserted that Vernon Jordan was not the kind of man who did that kind of thing, would not vouch for Mr. Landow.) What keepers of other secrets, watching the President's travails, will decide to talk? Jim McDougal is beyond all judges except One. But former governor Jim Guy Tucker has agreed to cooperate with Starr. Asia harbors numerous folk who could talk about 1996 fundraising.

Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott asked Starr to show his cards—an ineptly timed remark, but a reasonable thought. And indeed Starr seems to be headed for a wrap-up within months, at which time he will pass his evidence, and his burdens, to the House. The GOP leadership, which must drive any investigation, has not been notable for its finesse, and the Democrats, as the Thompson Committee hearings showed, will fight them every step of the way. But the matter may be taken out of their hands. A few more *60 Minutes* broadcasts like this one, and the Clinton Presidency could enter freefall.

## Starr Power

*Mr. Lott has complained of short circuits;*
*Mr. Gingrich, with one of his toes*
*In a socket the grand jury uses,*
*Loves a shock that ascends to his nose.*
*Mr. Lott will remain in the Senate;*
*Mr. Gingrich, who's dieted till*
*His posterior's more in proportion,*
*Dreams of elbowing Al, after Bill.*

—W. H. von Dreele

# Asia: Rx

As Asia's economies continue to wobble, the ominous words are heard: "It's the IMF—we're here to help you."

Advice from the International Monetary Fund is, of course, often wrong. The IMF has traditionally shown a fondness for tax hikes to restrain inflation, which is like using leeches to cure a fever. The usual result is a weaker patient who still has a fever. Even when IMF advice is not actually wrong, it is inappropriate. Take the IMF's current advice to South Korea, Indonesia, and other ailing tigers. Among other prescriptions, it suggests that these economies embark on major structural reforms to open their markets, ensure that capital allocations follow market signals rather than government direction, remove obstacles to firms wishing to compete with favored monopolies, combat corruption, and in general restrain the excesses of Asia's "crony capitalism."

Other things being equal this is sound advice. If followed, it would improve the performance of Asian economies over the long term. But other things are not equal, and the IMF's advice is open to four objections—three economic and one political. 1) These economies have prospered mightily in the last three decades while suffering from these flaws; indeed, the IMF is on record as singing their praises until yesterday. Their present financial and monetary problems are unrelated to these underlying structural ones. 2) The tigers' problems are the result of tying their weak currencies to a rising dollar, which encouraged first an inflationary boom and then a currency crash. 3) Their priority should accordingly be to restore financial stability, not reform the economy structurally—a task which is difficult in any circumstances and which should therefore probably await the restoration of a more stable financial environment. And finally, the political objection—4) these structural reforms look like decrees from the IMF, or the U.S. Treasury, to economically prostrate foes. This is likely to inflame the sensibilities of peoples already wounded by the collapse of their miracle and facing economic slowdown, increased unemployment, and even political turmoil (in Suharto's Indonesia) as inflation is wrung out of their systems.

What, then, should the IMF do? Ideally, go out of business. Short of that, nothing. But since these are counsels of perfection, the IMF's most likely best course is to pursue its role as banker of last resort—lending reserves to tide these economies over the crisis of confidence in their currencies. The obvious quid pro quo is that Asian countries must pursue sound financial policies. These may include a currency board where a central bank has sufficient reserves to sustain its currency's exchange rate against any speculative attack. Hong Kong fits this formula; Indonesia probably does not. But this is a second-


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

order question. A country must still pursue anti-inflationary policies to sustain its currency, whether it adopts a currency board or a floating exchange rate. Nonetheless, the latter is usually the better method of adjustment to—and through—hard times.

While financial stability is being restored, the real economy throughout Asia needs hope and stimulus. Japan, now in its seventh year of recession, is well placed to be the locomotive of Asian recovery. Both supply-siders and Keynesians agree that a substantial tax cut would benefit both Japan's own economy and those of its Asian trading partners. And once it begins, Asia's recovery will probably be rapid. The fundamentals of the Asian economic miracle—a strong work ethic, the high value placed on education, intact families—have not disappeared. In the next few years, they will be augmented by the highly competitive export prices that the recent currency depreciations have wrought. And, next time, the Asian tigers will have added financial prudence to their more vigorous virtues.

## Defining Reform Up

SEN. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D., N.Y.), an ardent defender of Social Security, has apparently concluded that the only way to save it—both financially and politically—is by partially privatizing it. Sen. Moynihan himself avoids the "p" word, arguing that his proposal differs from those of conservatives in keeping the guaranteed annuity. (Actually, some if not most of the conservative proposals keep a guaranteed minimum payment, too.) His proposal is better than most in another way: it cuts payroll taxes by two percentage points.

In other respects, Moynihan follows conventional wisdom—which, unconventionally, is actually wise—on entitlement reform: he would cut spending both by changing the way benefits increase with inflation and by raising the retirement age. The latter provision recognizes the illogic of pushing older people out of the workforce in a country with ever more elderly citizens.

Other provisions are less attractive. Moynihan would raise the portion of wages subject to the payroll tax from $68,400 a year to $97,500 by 2003. His fiddling with inflation adjustments would also raise income taxes—at a time when economic growth is already pushing more and more Americans into higher tax brackets. The net effect would be to increase the progressivity of the tax code and the top marginal tax rate. And Moynihan plans to *raise* the payroll tax rate after 2024, and raise income taxes on beneficiaries now. He would also extend Social Security to state workers, expanding a failing system.

These defects aside, Moynihan's proposal puts him light years ahead of other liberals. Indeed, one could argue that his plan is bolder than that of any other politician except Sen. Phil Gramm (R., Tex.) and Rep. John Porter (R., Ill.), whose plans rely less on fiddling with benefits and more on the magic of compound interest. Moynihan's tax cut exposes the fraudulence of the Social Security Trust Fund: since it actually funds other government programs, reducing it will not hurt Social Security. He accepts the case for investment of Social Security contributions, and forthrightly rejects the idea that government should do the investing. These are major ideological concessions, and advances for reform. Just as Moynihan's proposal to cut payroll taxes outflanked the Bush Administration, so this plan could let him and other Democrats (like his protégé Bob Kerrey) get to the right of Republicans. They should see him and raise him.

## Feminists Will Be Feminists

WELCOME to the curious world of the American Association of University Women. In January 1991 the AAUW released a study which found that girls are "short-changed" in co-ed schools. They are not called on by their teachers as often as boys, they are sexually harassed, and they are crippled by self-esteem problems. Soon after, in association with the AAUW, Peggy Orenstein released *SchoolGirls: Young Women, Self-Esteem, and the Confidence Gap* (Anchor Books, 1994), which added eating disorders and self-mutilation to the mix of woes besieging young women in co-ed schools. But now the AAUW has released a new study. While single-sex schools may indeed raise math scores for girls, give them more confidence, and encourage them to take risks, the AAUW now insists that they are not the solution because they might reinforce sexist stereotypes. Maggie Ford, president of the AAUW Educational Foundation, declared that "Separating by sex is not the solution to gender inequity in education," and Galen Sherwin, president of the New York City National Organization for Women, added, "We should have learned from the civil-rights movement that there is no such thing as separate but equal."

What is going on here? Essentially, the AAUW and NOW assume that girls' problems arise from treating girls differently from boys, when in fact they come from treating them the same. The heart of the muddle is that NOW and the AAUW, as feminist organizations, simply cannot bring themselves to accept that there are any differences between the sexes. To them, sex is a factor just like race: irrelevant to achievement and behavior. Hence Miss Sherwin's comparison to the civil-rights movement and her assertion that all-girl schools are akin to racially segregated ones. If girls are having difficulty in co-ed schools, it cannot be due to the pressures of dating. That would, after all, presuppose the existence of "girls" and "boys," which in feminist ideology are just socially constructed categories. Hence feminists can only talk vaguely about "gender inequity." But sex is not at all like race. Sex matters a whole lot, particularly for adolescent girls, who are wont to exchange concern over grades for concern over appear-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ance in the presence of boys. That's not an artifact of sexism; it's a fact of life. Any schools which shelter girls from the pressures of sex are to be welcomed—but not by the AAUW and NOW.

## Pray for Us

UNTIL Rolf Hochhuth's vitriolic play *The Deputy* in 1963, Jewish organizations praised Pope Pius XII for boldly speaking out against Nazism and defending Jews during the Holocaust. Since then, he has been routinely reviled for his "silence," and it is frequently asserted that whether the Catholic Church would condemn Pius's sins of omission should be the measure of its sincerity in acknowledging its failures in that time of unspeakable horror. Those who take that view will not be appeased by the March 16 statement from the Vatican, "We Remember: A Reflection on the Shoah."

While the Vatican statement defends both Pius XII and his predecessor, Pius XI, it is less interested in personalities and the allocation of blame than in the reassertion of the Church's constant teaching regarding the unity of the human race and the unbreakable link between Christianity and Judaism. There is fault aplenty to be found. The statement asks, "Did Christians give every possible assistance to those being persecuted, and in particular to the persecuted Jews?" And it responds, "Many did, but others did not. . . . For Christians, this heavy burden of conscience of their brothers and sisters during the Second World War must be a call to penitence." Saying that is not a claim of moral superiority but a simple recognition that "as members of the Church, we are linked to the sins as well as the merits of all her children." The communion of saints is also the communion of sinners.

From the early centuries, Christians have often been guilty of anti-Judaism, which the statement clearly distinguishes from modern anti-Semitism. The latter is a pseudo-scientific and pagan racial doctrine that denies the unity of the human race. That doctrine was powerfully condemned by Pius XI in his encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge* (*With Burning Anxiety*) which was read from German pulpits at the beginning of Holy Week in 1937. Anti-Semitism must be rejected, said the Pope, because "spiritually, we are all Semites." In accord with the teaching of the Second Vatican Council, the statement underscores the importance of St. Paul's reflection (Romans 9–11) on the continuing "mystery" of the relationship between Jews and Christians in which the Church is grafted onto the root of Israel.

In an accompanying letter, Pope John Paul II expresses the hope that the statement "may enable memory to play its necessary part in the process of shaping a future in which the unspeakable iniquity of the Shoah will never again be possible." The statement itself says: "We wish to turn awareness of past sins into a firm resolve to build a new future in which there will be no more anti-Judaism among Christians or anti-Christian sentiment among Jews, but rather a shared mutual respect, as befits those who adore the one Creator and Lord and have a common father in faith, Abraham."

Ten years in the making, "We Remember" was eagerly anticipated. Some have indicated disappointment that it does not condemn the Church itself for complicity in the Holocaust. Such a condemnation, however, would be both historically inaccurate and a contradiction of the Church's self-understanding. The Church claims to be a perfect community by virtue of being the Body of Christ, but a perfect community with many very imperfect members, including bishops and popes. In the face of monumental evil such as the Holocaust and the quotidian evils of our own experience, all of us sinners in need of grace have reason to hope that claim is true. Then, as now, there were heroes and cowards, saints and villains, with the middling majority trying to believe they were doing the best they could. We are linked to their sins as well as to their merits, says the Vatican statement. Exactly. *Miserere nobis*.

## Eric Breindel, RIP

OUTSIDE of New York City very few people knew Eric Breindel. In New York, everybody knew him. This was so for professional reasons —he was a prominent editor of a daily newspaper. But the quality of New Yorkers' friendship for him was owing entirely to his personality. The least contact made for a permanent impression of him.

He was the son of Holocaust near-victims, both of whom were at the funeral at the synagogue on March 9. Dr. and Mrs. Breindel sent their son to Harvard, where he earned academic acclaim and served as editorial chairman of the *Crimson*. He went on to the law school, a quick tour with the Public Broadcasting System, and then two years to the staff of Senator Moynihan. Breindel's considerable impact came from his editorial stay at the *New York Post*. There in ten years he consummated the re-creation of an editorial page which for years had been the liberal encephalophone of Dorothy Schiff and Jimmy Wechsler. Now it is the voice of reasoned and adamant conservatism. On the question of Israeli independence Breindel was unswervable. On law and order he took positions unpopular with New York's intellectual elite, firmly on the side, in most cases, of the police. And on the subject of Communism and its fellow-travelers he was scornful and totally informed. In an age when one courts the label of McCarthyite by citing as pro-Communist even outspoken pro-Communists (e.g., W. E. B. Du Bois, Paul Robeson), Breindel would cite the record and tell the truth. He was at work on a history of American fellow-traveling, jointly with Herbert Romerstein, when the massive cardiac arrest took him away at age 42.

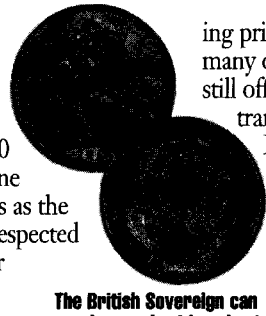
He was a most striking figure, slender, his hair dark, his


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# THE PERFECT GOLD INVESTMENT

## There hasn't been a better time to buy gold. And now you can get private, historic world gold pieces...at about the same price as common bullion coins!

There is nothing in human experience more respected as a store of wealth than gold. And over the last 500 years of modern history one gold coin has led all others as the most widely recognized, respected and valued in every corner of the world.



**The British Sovereign can now be acquired for about the same cost as comparable gold bullion coins.**

It is the gold Sovereign: the only coin to be minted on five continents, the gold piece that was the backbone of the British Empire for more than two centuries.

In short, the Sovereign offers investors a powerful array of advantages that is clearly unmatched by any other gold coin option available today. They include privacy, protection from confiscation, liquidity, affordability, portability, historic significance, collectibility and the potential profit over and above any gains in the price of gold.

### Worldwide Recognition And Liquidity

For more than a century, the intelligence community has used Sovereigns as emergency money for agents operating in every nation — as popularized by Ian Fleming in his James Bond novels.

Allied air crews in World War II carried Sovereigns as a standard part of their survival kits, in case they were shot behind enemy lines. Even the American government recognizes the perceived value of Sovereigns: During Desert Storm, American pilots carried these historic gold coins as their emergency money, because Sovereigns are more widely known and valued in the Middle East than any other gold coin, new or old.

### Absolute Privacy

If you value your privacy — an important asset in today's world — then the British Sovereign could prove to be one of your most important investment tools.

You see, according to Internal Revenue Service Revenue Procedure 92-103, most gold coins or bars must be reported on Form 1099-B when sold. There is nothing private about that. However, unlike many other gold bullion coins, Sovereigns still offer you absolute *privacy* in your transaction. Under current tax law and IRS regulation interpretations, *there are no reporting requirements whatsoever when you buy or sell British Sovereign gold pieces.*

### Never Subject to Confiscation

As an historic, collectible gold coin, the Sovereign boasts another very important advantage over other gold bullion coins: It is not subject to any gold confiscation law passed in U.S. history, due to its status as a collector piece.

The infamous Executive Order 6102, issued by Franklin Roosevelt on April 5, 1933, confiscated the gold holdings of American citizens. But Section 2(b) of this order specifically excluded collector coins.

### About The Same Cost As Bullion

Each 22-karat British Sovereign contains the equivalent of .2354 troy ounces of pure gold, and you can get them for as low as 18% above their gold value from Jefferson Coin & Bullion.

This compares favorably with the premium over gold value for a 1/4-ounce American Eagle, Maple Leaf or Australian Nugget bullion coin.

### A Unique Source Of Exceptional Sovereigns

There is a compelling argument to be made that old British Sovereigns are the finest physical gold bullion investment available. No other option offers the same degree of privacy, protection from confiscation, affordability, liquidity and upside potential. (Although the British Royal Mint began minting limited edition Sovereigns once again in 1957, investors should only purchase the historic old gold pieces struck in 1932 and earlier.)

But recognizing this fact is only part of the battle. An investor still must find quality coins at fair prices.

This problem was recently solved when we located two sources for very high quality Sovereigns from Europe. As a result, we can offer top quality Sovereigns at prices that will be hard to beat. In fact, we can offer limited quantities of higher grade Brilliant Uncirculated British Sovereigns — each carefully selected for quality and eye-appeal by our highly qualified numismatic staff — for only a dollar more than lower grade *circulated* coins.

Investors should act quickly for two reasons:

First, this is an excellent opportunity to own quality gold near a cyclical low in both price and premium.

Second, the supply of our uncirculated British Sovereigns is limited. While lower grade circulated specimens should continue to be available, the Brilliant Uncirculated examples may shortly prove much more difficult to acquire.

For these reasons, we strongly urge immediate purchase of Brilliant Uncirculated Sovereigns. The prices below will change with fluctuations in the price of gold.

If you want solid gold security and profit potential that bullion can't match, you should call Jefferson Coin & Bullion at **(800-593-2584)** immediately.

**Price Indications**

**☎ Call 800-593-2584 ☎**
**For current pricing and availability.**

**British Sovereigns**

Brilliant Uncirculated Condition. Minted 1902 to 1932, dates our choice, .916 fine gold, .2354 troy ounce total gold weight.

| | |
|---|---|
| 250 coins or more | $84.00 each |
| 100 to 249 coins | $85.00 each |
| 10 to 99 coins | $86.00 each |
| 5 to 9 coins | $87.00 each |

**Note:** Prices will change with fluctuations in the gold price. Prices are based on $300/ounce spot gold. Due to their low premium above melt value, no credit card orders can be accepted on sales of these coins. Allow two to six weeks for delivery. Call for current prices and availability on other classic world gold pieces, as well as a full selection of competitively priced modern bullion and rare U.S. gold coins.

Jefferson Coin & Bullion, Inc.
2400 Jefferson Hwy • Suite 600
Jefferson, LA 70121
America's Leading Coin Firm™

*Visit our website at www.jeffinc.com*

**Jefferson Coin & Bullion is the only rare coin firm owned and operated by James U. Blanchard III, publisher of *Gold Newsletter* and a leading advocate of investor rights for more than 25 years.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

white teeth set in an ironic smile. There was a touch of the country boy dressed up for Sunday in his collar, lightly awry. His voice was drawly, amusedly deliberate, his words light in formulation, lightning-quick in analysis and profound in judgment. He was welcome everywhere, walking among the unbelievers with happy confidence that no one would doubt his bona fides or question his reverence for human freedom, so transparently genuine.

At his funeral everyone was there, the city's mayor, the state's two senators (Moynihan: "Eric learned from me for two years and I learned from him for the next twenty"), its governor; *New York Post* owner Rupert Murdoch; Breindel's successor on the *Post*, a beloved friend; and John Podhoretz's father, Norman, who ended his brief eulogy, "The Bible tells us that by obeying the Fifth Commandment our days shall be lengthened upon the earth. Yet our presence here today testifies all too terribly that in Eric's case this promise has not been kept. I am tempted to rant, *l'havdil*, like Jeremiah or Job, at the injustice of it." Instead, Mr. Podhoretz concluded, he would affirm Breindel's longevity by reflecting on the influence he had had in his brief life on earth.

Dead at 42! Looking up at a death notice on the bulletin board of his club in Indianapolis in the 1930s, George Ade reached for a pencil and scribbled on it, "It's always the wrong man." Eric Breindel would have appreciated the formulation of the wry American humorist. Even from far away (I was abroad) one senses genuine bereavement. The people at the synagogue, and New York City, are lastingly bereaved. —WFB

# NOTES & ASIDES

■ Mr. Buckley:

The expression is not "age-old" but "ages-old," yes? Of late, I hear or read only age-old, e.g., an age-old tradition *v.* an ages-old tradition—meaning the tradition is old as the ages . . . not old as the (current) age?

And, what about the expression "I could care less"? The speaker/writer really means, "I couldn't care less," correct? If one could care less, then one doesn't currently care the least, which is the whole point of making the comment to begin with, yes?

Please reply soon, as I have already lost twenty years' sleep over this. Cordially,

Robin Salomon Dye
Affectionately known as: Robinagirl@aol.com

Dear Mrs. Dye: Awake!!! You are quite right on all counts. Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Your "Notes & Asides" column about English subtitles for movies in Hong Kong (December 8) called to mind my experience in Paris many years ago in a theater showing American movies with French subtitles.

The film was an old Western. A cowboy enters a saloon, walks up to the bar:

Cowboy: "Gimme a shot of redeye."

Subtitle: "Un Dubonnet, s'il vous plaît."

Kind regards,
Cornelius P. Callahan
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Mr. Buckley:

Thanks for sharing those hilarious "translations" of scenes from movies made in Hong Kong.

Our website at www.cototranslates.com contains the largest collection of language disasters on the Internet. For example:

"We take your bags and send them in all directions."
—A European airline.

"Drop your trousers here for best results."
—A Bangkok Dry Cleaners

"Bite the wax tadpole."
—A mangled translation of "Coca Cola," as seen on thousands of signs in China.

"Ladies, leave your clothes here and spend the afternoon having a good time." —A laundry in Rome

"Pepsi will bring your ancestors back from the dead."
—A Taiwanese translation of "Come alive with the Pepsi generation"

Sincerely,
Daniel Trevor
President, Coto Translating & Graphics
Glendale, Calif.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

You were in fact correct when you said that Prince Charles was "the descendant of Henry VIII" ("Notes & Asides," Oct. 27). While Messrs. Lang and Nulman accurately pointed out that Henry VIII's three legitimate children left no children (which letters induced you prematurely to admit error), Henry VIII in fact also left several illegitimate children. An article by Anthony Hoskins in the March 1997 *Genealogist* magazine ("Mary Boleyn's Carey Children: Offspring of King Henry VIII?") points out that Prince Charles is, via his mother, descended from Catherine Carey, through her daughter Lettice Knollys, Countess of Essex and Leicester.

Leave it to you to be correct even when you think you are wrong!

Very truly yours,
Bruce Allardice
Des Plaines, Ill.

Dear Mr. Allardice. Thank heavens you vindicated me! I do think—don't you—that when you look at the incumbents there is something there of the . . . je ne sais quoi, wouldn't you agree—common blood? Cordially,

—WFB


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# FREE — From *The Washington Times*
# 4 FREE Issues of our National Weekly Edition!

Now you can see why *The Washington Times* has become the talk of the nation! Because now you can get FOUR FREE ISSUES of *The Washington Times* NATIONAL WEEKLY EDITION! It takes the best of our award-winning daily news coverage and makes it available to you every week — no matter where you live!

The Washington Times

NATIONAL WEEKLY EDITION

Traveling Clinton can't skirt problems

Reno extends investigation of president

Feeling his own pain

At least 7 DNC officials were in on Teamsters deal

Visits to Holy Land seen ballooning over next 3 years

Reno stands by her president / 3
Paula Jones suit gets down to particulars / 4
Vince Foster and the political cost of justice / 32
Noah, call your L.A. office / 37

# Try it FREE!

## No Risk . . . No Cost . . . No Obligation!

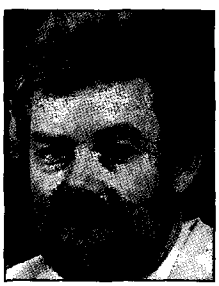
The Washington Times. It's the newspaper they're all talking about on Talk Radio, C-SPAN, and the Sunday morning talk shows. It's the one that's driving Clinton, Bonier, Boxer, Daschle, and Gephardt crazy! Why? Because it's the only daily newspaper in the nation with the courage to cover news honestly — without the liberal spin you always get in *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*. And now our NATIONAL WEEKLY EDITION brings it all right to your door every week!

## Claim your 4 FREE ISSUES of the National Weekly Edition today!

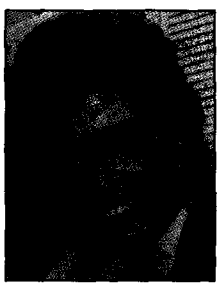
"The Washington Times is the definitive journal of the New American Revolution."
*–Tom Clancy*

"Even the mavens of the establishment media admit: The Washington Times gets the story first."
*–Rep. Dick Armey*

"My staff and I read the Times every morning for the insightful editorials and the latest breaking political news."
*–Rep. J. C. Watts*



"The Washington Times breaks the stories the liberal media refuse to touch."
*–L. Brent Bozell*



"The Washington Times is the first paper I reach for in the morning. . . essential reading for anyone who cares about what goes on in the world today."
*–Arianna Huffington*

"Living in San Francisco, I find the National Edition of the Washington Times an indispensable weekly summary of what's going on in the nation's capital."
*–William A. Rusher*

## CALL 1-800-363-9118. (Mention Express Code: "UHJOVF")

**Call today or mail in the coupon below, and order 4 weeks of The Washington Times National Edition free of charge! If you like it, you'll receive 48 more issues, for a total of 52, and pay only $59.95. If you decide not to subscribe, simply write "cancel" on your invoice and owe nothing at all. The 4 sample copies will be yours to keep!**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# SCANDAL FILE

## Clinton the Chin

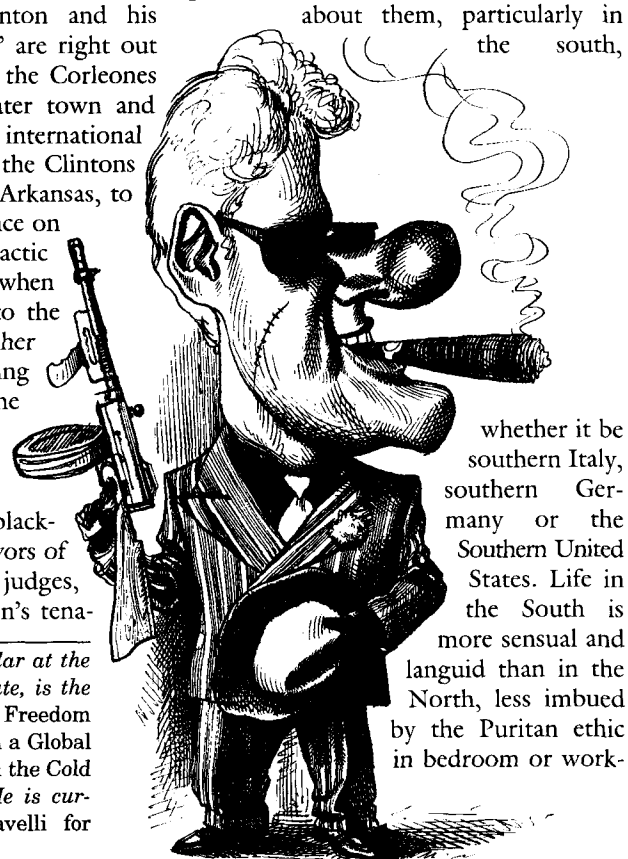
MICHAEL LEDEEN

AN Italian journalist of a certain age was telling me about his first trip to Little Rock. "I recognized it immediately," he said with a wry smile. "The closed atmosphere, the reluctance to be seen talking to an outsider, the background fear . . . just like Sicily." He had spent years covering the Mafia in his own country, and he was quick to recognize the similarities between the Sicily of his youth and the Arkansas of his maturer years: Bill Clinton's Arkansas, whose methods and mores have been so brutally and effectively imposed on Washington in the 1990s.

It's a shame that the tandem of Francis Ford Coppola and Mario Puzo has not given us its vision of our present condition, for Clinton and his political/business "family" are right out of *The Godfather*. Just as the Corleones started in a tiny backwater town and eventually became a vast international criminal organization, so the Clintons have moved from Hope, Arkansas, to exert their corrupt influence on a global scale. The climactic moment of *The Godfather*, when Al Pacino looks deep into the eyes of his beloved to tell her a bald-faced but comforting lie, has been reprised to the point of monotony by Bill Clinton.

Just as Don Corleone and his sons bought, blackmailed, or extorted the favors of businessmen, politicians, judges, and journalists, so Clinton's tenacious survival of a series of mortal threats to his Presidency is intimately linked (as was his initial rise to power) to the successful manipulation of business, political, judicial, and journalistic institutions, beginning with the spectacular purge of all the U.S. Attorneys at the outset of the first term, and culminating so far with the intimidation of potentially damaging witnesses, probing journalists, and Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr. And just as real-life mafiosi often maintain Jewish consiglieri, so the Clintons have their Nussbaums, Landows, and Blumenthals.

It should not surprise us. Small-town politics always have a bit of the mafia about them, particularly in the south, whether it be southern Italy, southern Germany or the Southern United States. Life in the South is more sensual and languid than in the North, less imbued by the Puritan ethic in bedroom or workplace, and less open to inquiring eyes from without. Southern societies are more secretive, and are more often dominated by small groups—whether you call them mafias or the good ol' boys, it's the same kettle of fish—than the more transparent and meritocratic northern ones. Mafias rest on a dual code of absolute loyalty to the family and tenacious refusal to cooperate with the broader society and its values.



Bill Clinton by Roman Genn

The Clinton family's contempt for conventional rules was recently pointed out by the Administration's own expert on the subject. In the course of hearings on illegal foreign funding of the Democratic National Committee, Rep. Dan Burton asked FBI Director Louis Freeh whether he had ever been involved in a case in which so many witnesses were unavailable. Freeh instantly responded: "Actually, I have. . . . I spent about 16 years doing organized-crime cases in New York City, and many people were frequently unavailable." Mafia family members owe loyalty only to the family, never to outside organizations, as Democratic Party regulars can attest. Clinton's organization is his alone, which helps explain this President's notable lack of coattails in election years. Indeed, Clinton's main effect on his party has been to drive hundreds of elected Democrats to become—Republicans. The centrality of the family was seen in the first months of the Administration, in the classic takeover operation known as Travelgate. Civil servants were replaced by Clinton's relatives so that the profits would be kept in the family, and when the victims refused to go quietly they were accused of the very thing the Arkansas mafia intended to do: make money out of the government travel business.

*The greatest threat to a mafia is* betrayal from within—hence the rigid code of silence (*omertà*). For the code to work effectively, all members must be guilty of serious crimes, so that any betrayal will doom them all to extended prison terms, or worse. The presence of a single honest man could be fatal to the organization by breaking the ties of reciprocal blackmail, which perhaps explains why Al Gore was made the Administration's "solicitor-in-chief" and the bag man in the Buddhist-temple caper. Once he had been publicly corrupted he couldn't turn in the others without subjecting himself to the same punishment. The code has been extraordinarily effective; in the classic tradi-

*Mr. Ledeen, a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, is the author, most recently, of* Freedom Betrayed: How America Led a Global Democratic Revolution, Won the Cold War, and Walked Away. *He is currently working on* Machiavelli for Moderns.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion, Clinton family members have refused to provide information about their chieftains, even when—as in the cases of Susan McDougal and Webster Hubbell—they must serve time.

For outsiders who pose a danger, more explicit threats are required. Anyone acting against the family must be destroyed (as the White House brags it is doing to Kenneth Starr), but at the same time the Godfather invariably offers such people a corrupt way out: cooperation is rewarded.

These practices have been adopted with regard to Monica Lewinsky (now getting her a high-paying job, now threatening her career by portraying her as an unstable sexual predator, all the while denying any involvement with her), and in the matter of Kathleen Willey. Mrs. Willey's mugging by the President was first confirmed by her friend Julie Steele, who then changed her story after a conversation with family fundraiser and consigliere Nate Landow, and a cash offer from a national tabloid. Here again, *The Godfather* provides us with the model of one witness who retracts his testimony before a Congressional committee just when it appears the Don is about to be indicted, and another who is killed when he refuses to cooperate.

When Michael Corleone expanded the family empire, he created a series of strategic alliances, and the Clintons have done the same. The Clinton mafia was created by the marriage of two urban families: the Arkansas group that had grown up around the governor's mansion in Little Rock, and the Chicago family associated with Richard Daley Jr. This fusion brought Rahm Emanuel to the White House, Richard Wilhelm to the leadership of the Democratic Party (and then to manage the re-election campaign in '96), and finally Daley himself to the Labor Department. The choice of Chicago was perhaps prompted by actual family ties—it is Mrs. Clinton's home town, after all—and the alliance with the Daley machine gave the Clintons an entree to yet another powerful family: the Teamsters.

The mafia has always preferred corruption to conflict, because warfare is bad for business, and so it has been with the Clinton family. Even before coming to Washington, the Clintons established financially profitable ties to Asian families like the Riadys, and this provided the model for American foreign policy toward China under the cover of "free trade." Why risk conflict with the People's Republic when there is so much money to be made by doing business with it? And why worry about such trivial matters as national security when, by selling dozens of supercomputers to the Chinese, family friends in the electronics business can make millions of dollars?

*The mafia has always preferred corruption to conflict, and so it has been with the Clinton family.*

Finally, looking at the Clinton Administration as a mafia helps explain the President's rising popularity as the American public learns more about his corrupt actions. When I first saw *The Godfather*, the audience burst into cheers when Michael lied to his bride and told her that was the last time he would answer such questions. But that was only a movie. Who could have imagined that it was a prescient look at the future of American politics? □

# The Real David Brock

RAMESH PONNURU

MEMO
TO: DAVID BROCK
FROM: RAMESH PONNURU

Your apology to President Clinton in the April *Esquire* for your Troopergate story has kicked up quite a fuss, but it's hard to see why. Months ago you had already written, "[W]hile I believe that piece was journalistically sound, in

*Mr. Ponnuru is NR's national reporter.*


**END INSURANCE CONFUSION FOREVER! ONLY QUOTESMITH GIVES YOU INSTANT QUOTES FROM 325 TOP COMPANIES**

"Quotesmith's interface is marvelously simple... and infinitely faster than phoning dozens of agents."
- *The Web Magazine*

"Quotesmith provides a list of all insurance companies & plans that match specific needs. The first to make available this new custom-search service."
- *Nation's Business*

"Quotesmith saved us time and money. I shopped from my own office and found the best deal available. I was impressed."
- *Linda Picazio, FL*

"Get quotes on the spot. New source for best buys in insurance. One way to get to know the market..." - *Kiplinger's*

"Quotesmith keeps a database of about 350 insurance companies."
- *Good Housekeeping*

"Quotesmith ranked more than 250 policies for Forbes. The premiums vary wildly." - *Forbes*

"Researching insurance companies can be confusing and tedious. To simplify the task, call Quotesmith." - *SmartMoney*

"Quotesmith will scan the insurers and provide a list of different policies suited to your needs." - *Money*

**Quotesmith is the only Internet site on earth where you can get instant quotes from 325 top-rated companies.** We give you detailed policy information including the latest ratings from A.M. Best, Duff & Phelps, Moody's, Standard & Poor's and Weiss Research, Inc. on every quote. And when you're ready, you can even apply to the company of your choice online *without having to deal with any insurance salesmen!* Avoid buying mistakes. Use the Quotesmith insurance price comparison service before you buy or renew any life insurance policy. Have questions or want quotes mailed to you? Call us at **1-800-431-1147**, 24 hrs.

QUOTESMITH® CORPORATION

**www.quotesmith.com**

NR 4/98




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hindsight I'm not sure I would choose to publish it." Your latest missive doesn't add much: now you're sure you shouldn't have published it, and you think that the troopers have lost credibility since you published the story—though not since last July, when you wrote that you still believed it. Otherwise, all you've added is a dubious comparison of Troopergate to Clinton's latest sex scandal—as if your allegation that the First Lady of Arkansas used state troopers to buy her tampons has the same newsworthiness as what appears to be obstruction of justice and compulsive, reckless, and predatory sexual behavior by the President of the United States.

*So it may be that you have not yet considered some of the reasons thoughtful conservatives have been dismissive of your work over the last year.*

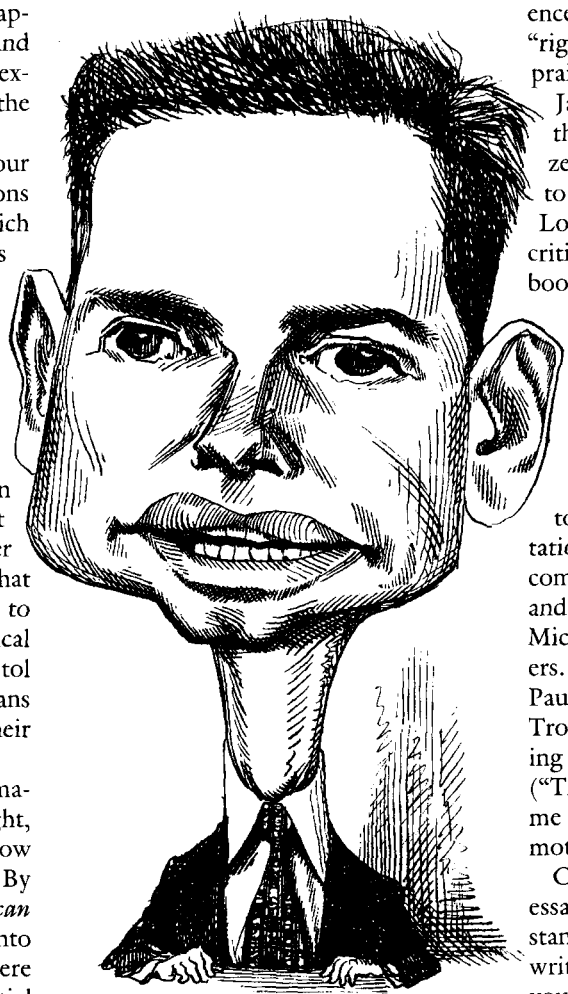
Still, it's an improvement over your essay in last July's *Esquire*, "Confessions of a Right-Wing Hit Man," in which you mostly confessed other people's supposed sins. Your theme then was that conservatives had demonstrated their indifference to truth by cheering Troopergate and your debunking of Anita Hill but then attacking your balanced book on Hillary Rodham Clinton. Now you're admitting mistakes of your own. It would have been gracious of you to acknowledge that your second thoughts had been other people's first. *NR* noted at the time that it had passed up several opportunities to break sexual scandals about ideological opponents in the past, and Bill Kristol expressed concern that Republicans would focus on scandal rather than their agenda.

Indeed, Pat Buchanan, much maligned as the bully boy of the Right, predicted all the consequences you now decry in his column on Troopergate. By publishing it, he wrote, *The American Spectator* "has moved our politics into terra incognita, uncharted terrain where all the salacious details of presidential liaisons, vulgar language tossed in for spice, become news fit to print. . . . The end result of this kind of knife-to-knife politics, however, is destructive to assailants as well as victims. It raises the number of fatalities, degrades the political dialogue, engenders a contempt for all politicians and press, and diminishes public regard for the system itself." Clinton, Buchanan warned, "will not be the last victim of this kind of journalism." Your admission that your "first fleeting second thought" came after its publication does not reflect well on your thoughtfulness.

So it may be that you have not yet considered some of the reasons thoughtful conservatives have been dismissive of your work over the last year. I like to think of them as the Six Contradictions of David Brock.

Contradiction One: In your first *Esquire* piece, you complained about attacks from what you called "my own side"—in the course of an article premised on the idea that journalists should not belong to any side.

Underlying this complaint is Contradiction Two: When you criticize conservatives, you are bravely displaying your independence from the party line; when conservatives criticize you, they are quashing dissent like "a kind of neo-Stalinist thought police." Said thought police crush dissent by, for instance, panning your book and disinviting you from parties. (They just don't make Stalinists the way they used to.)



David Brock by Roman Genn

Your essay led other writers—notably Timothy Noah in *U.S. News & World Report* and Jacob Weisberg in *Slate*—to pile on, using similar double standards. When conservatives criticize Sen. Orrin Hatch, we're hunting down apostates. When we defend Newt Gingrich from criticism (from other conservatives), we're . . . hunting down apostates! Thus do illustrations of the Right's intellectual diversity get distorted into attempts to quash it. None of you, of course, had anything to say when *The New Republic* fired editor Michael Kelly for slamming Clinton and Al Gore too often.

Contradiction Three: You excoriate Rich Lowry's review of your book on Mrs. Clinton in *NR* for suggesting that your conclusions might have been influenced by a desire not to be seen as a "right-wing hit man"; you single out for praise a *New York Times* review by James B. Stewart that said the same thing. Both reviewers thought your zeal to attack Bill Clinton had led you to let the First Lady off the hook. Lowry even defended you from some criticisms. A suggestion: when your book is panned by conservative reviewers, liberal reviewers, centrist reviewers, reviewers with no known politics, and the book-buying public, maybe you should consider the simplest explanation: it's a lousy book.

Contradiction Four: You apologize to Clinton for tearing down his reputation, but the casual slanders keep coming: against Linda Tripp ("greedy and slimy motives"), *Newsweek* reporter Michael Isikoff, Roger Ailes, and others. You even have the gall to attack Paula Jones after falsely reporting, in Troopergate, that a "Paula" was a willing sex partner of Gov. Clinton's. ("That she sued [Clinton] rather than me may have been an early clue to her motives.")

Contradiction Five: In the course of essays calling for higher journalistic standards, you display none. You have written that *NR*'s initial comment on your essay "categorically den[ied] that



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the phenomenon of right-wing political correctness is real"; it didn't. Every one of the people you attacked in your earlier *Esquire* foray says you got the facts wrong. An example: you present your disinvitation from a party as retribution for not trashing Mrs. Clinton; the disinviter says her actual motive was that her other guests included sources of yours who felt that you had broken promises by revealing their identities.

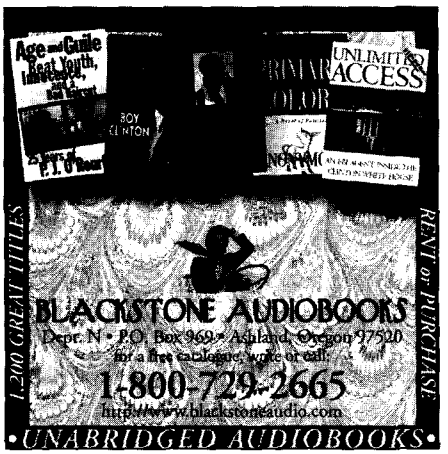
In a draft of your article, you said a group of conservative activists led by Grover Norquist had given you the Kevin Phillips Award for a nominal Republican who "helps the other team." Alerted that you might have gotten this wrong, you softened the reference: now you had merely been nominated. In fact, Norquist's group does not give the award; the American Conservative Union does. And you hadn't even been nominated. You apologized privately to Norquist, but made no public correction. *Wall Street Journal* editorialist John Fund and Landmark Legal Foundation president Mark R. Levin also tell credible stories of having been misrepresented.

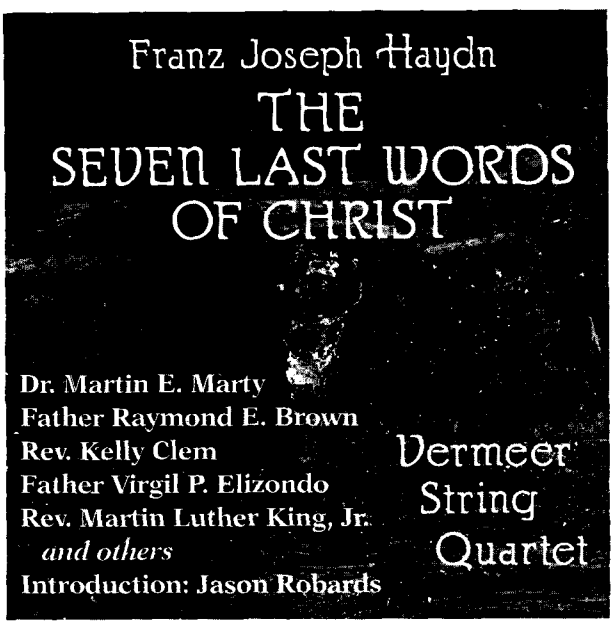
One of the strongest points in your book *The Real Anita Hill* was that for Miss Hill to be telling the truth, 17 other people had to be lying; for Clarence Thomas to be telling the truth, only she did. This time, the ratio is not in your favor.

You have reportedly been working closely with David Kendall and other members of the Clinton defense team to discredit reporters on the scandal beat. Which brings us to Contradiction Six: Now that you've become a high-minded, nonpartisan journalist, you've effectively gone to work for—Sidney Blumenthal!

I'm not sure you realize how grating it is to be told by you in *Slate* that conservatives should eschew scandal politics: "It's time to try to advance a legitimate conservative case on the grounds of policy." Some of us have been doing that, for more than four decades. Perhaps you were too busy rifling through other people's underwear drawers to notice.

Unlike some of your critics, I neither know nor care about your motives in writing these essays. Your record stands or falls on its own, whatever your motives—which is why your recent confession that you wrote Troopergate "because I wanted to pop [Clinton] right between the eyes" is irrelevant to its legitimacy as news. Over the last year, whatever your motives, your public pronouncements have offered us a politics of narcissism and attitudinizing, constant revisionism, and false pieties masking low cunning. Sound familiar? You're not just apologizing to Bill Clinton, you're becoming him. □


"The power of the spoken words in combination with the music is tremendous. This is an experience unlike any other and well worth hearing." *American Record Guide*

"It is difficult to imagine a more appropriate group of theologians and preachers for the Vermeer Quartet's *Seven Last Words of Christ* CD. The makeup of this group suggests not only a certain moral authority, but a spirit of inclusiveness. May this recording bring us closer together."

Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.
University of Notre Dame

***COMPACT DISCS*** [2-CD set]
CD 1: music & spoken introductions
CD 2: music only
**$19.95** *(plus tax & shipping)*

***CASSETTE***
single cassette – same as "CD 1"
**$9.95** *(plus tax & shipping)*

Name_____
Street_____
City_____
State_____ Zip_____

***# of CDs_____ # of Cassettes_____***

***FAX THIS ORDER TO: (847) 433-4312***

*or mail to:* Alden Productions
P.O. Box 894
Highland Park, IL 60035-0894

*Invoice will be enclosed with order*




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# The Indictment Option

DANIEL E. TROY

EVER since the Lewinsky scandal broke, reporters and legal scholars have uniformly declared that a sitting President may not constitutionally be indicted. National Public Radio's Nina Totenberg, among others, reported that even Ken Starr's office holds this view, apparently based on a Department of Justice position developed by then–Solicitor General Robert Bork during the Nixon Administration.

But a careful examination of the issue reveals that the case against pre-impeachment indictment of a President is far from clear-cut. Indeed, when Republican Presidents were in office, liberal scholars weren't rushing to embrace Bork's view.

In the 1988 edition of his influential constitutional-law treatise, liberal Harvard law professor Laurence Tribe wrote: "The question must be regarded as an open one, but the burden should be on those who insist that a President is immune from criminal trial prior to impeachment and removal from office." (Mysteriously, Professor Tribe has not recently been heard from on this subject.) Similarly, in an article in the Fall 1992 issue of the *Hastings Constitutional Law Quarterly*, Hofstra law professor Eric Freedman concluded: "Legal decisionmakers should reject the position that the President should have a blanket immunity from criminal prosecutions."

The text of the Constitution does not resolve the issue. It states that "Judgment in the Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of Honor, Trust or Profit of the United States; but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment according to Law." The provision anticipates, and explicitly permits, post-impeachment indictment.

But neither it, nor any other provision in the Constitution, explicitly grants the President immunity from criminal prosecution prior to impeachment. Certainly there is no presidential counterpart to the Constitution's speech-and-debate clause, which immunizes members of Congress from liability for certain matters that may arise out of their official duties.

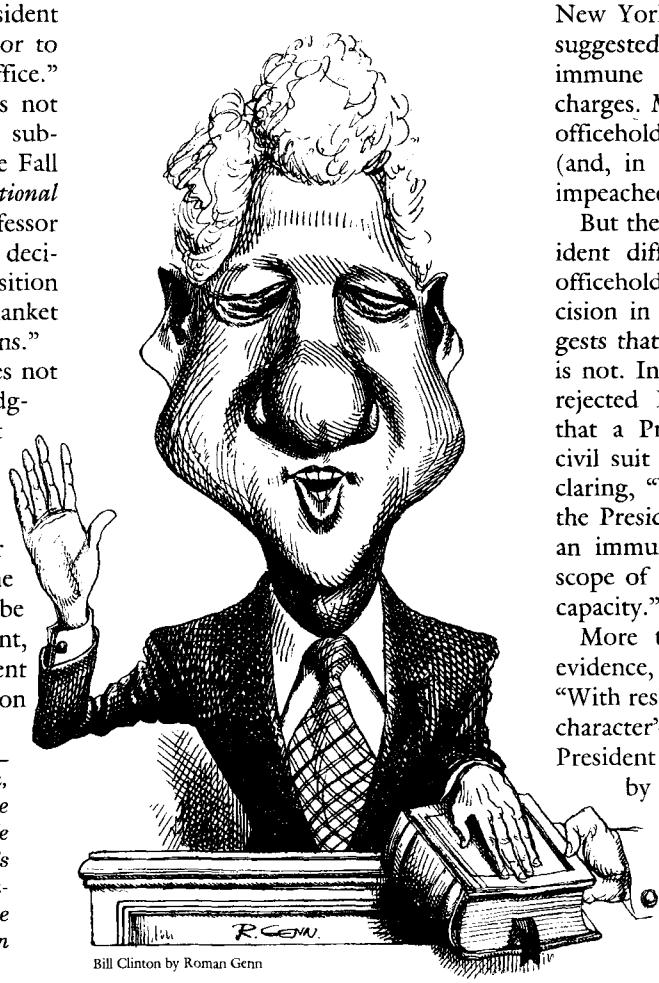
The issue of pre-impeachment immunity was discussed during the debates over the ratification of the Constitution. Some agreed with Alexander Hamilton's argument in the *Federalist Papers* that a federal officeholder must be impeached and removed from office before being subjected to indictment. Others—like James Iredell, later a Supreme Court Justice—maintained that federal officers "may be tried by a court of common law . . . for common-law offenses, whether impeached or not." Iredell continued: "No man is better than his fellow citizens, nor can he pretend to any superiority over the meanest man in the country."

Historical experience seems to suggest that a sitting President may be indicted. Aaron Burr, while Vice President, was indicted for murder both in New York and in New Jersey. No one suggested at that time that Burr was immune from prosecution on those charges. Many federal judges and lower officeholders have been indicted before (and, in some cases, in lieu of) being impeached.

*Just as there is no textual or historical basis for giving the President immunity from civil actions, there is similarly no basis for declaring him immune from criminal indictment.*

But the question remains: Is the President different from all other federal officeholders? The Supreme Court's decision in *Clinton* v. *Jones* strongly suggests that, with respect to this issue, he is not. In that case a unanimous Court rejected President Clinton's argument that a President was immune from a civil suit during his term in office, declaring, "We have never suggested that the President, or any other official, has an immunity that extends beyond the scope of any action taken in an official capacity."

More tellingly, citing the historical evidence, the *Jones* decision stated: "With respect to acts taken in his 'public character'—that is, official acts—the President may be disciplined principally by impeachment, not by private lawsuits for damages. But he is otherwise subject to the laws for his purely private acts." The Court also roundly rejected the arguments that being involved in such



Bill Clinton by Roman Genn

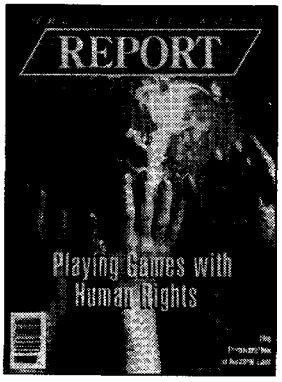
*Mr. Troy is a lawyer in Washington, D.C., and an associate scholar at the American Enterprise Institute. He served in the Department of Justice's Office of Legal Counsel during the Reagan and Bush Administrations, and he clerked for Judge Robert H. Bork on the D.C. Circuit Court in 1983–84.*

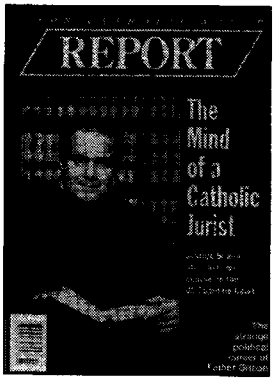

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

**FREE!** C.S. LEWIS BOOK

# John Paul II Helped Bring Down Communism

Even mainstream journalists like Carl Bernstein (yes, of Watergate fame) now admit Pope John Paul II played a major role in Communism's collapse. Why did they miss it for so long? Because most secular journalists don't understand the power of the Pope – or the Christian Faith – in world affairs. Which is why, to be informed about the Church today, you should read ***Catholic World Report***, the leading Catholic news magazine covering the Christian "beat."




*CWR* examines the Church in America and around the globe. Forget the usual secular-liberal "keep-your-Christianity - to - yourself" attitude; *CWR* offers you the news from an unabashedly Catholic-Christian perspective.

Our penetrating stories and thought-provoking essays guarantee you'll get more than a glorified "church bulletin." This is Christianity with power, the kind that brought down the Berlin Wall!

## Subscribe to *Catholic World Report* and learn about:

### *Catholic World Report* gives you more:

- In-depth reporting
- Summaries of the most important church-related news
- Insightful, entertaining and thought-provoking essays and editorials
- Features on Christian culture, literature and art

- **Pope John Paul II's Bold Vision For The Third Millennium:**
  What he's got planned for the 21st century
- **Cloning Humans; The Moral Issues Raised by Techniques of Genetic Manipulation and Artificial Reproduction**
- **Same-Sex Unions In Hawaii And What It Means For The Rest Of The Country**

"I have been impressed with the positive contribution that the magazine has made to the literature available to those wanting a clear and unambiguous presentation of Catholic teaching."
— **Cardinal John O'Connor, N.Y.**

■ ■ ■

**SUBSCRIBE NOW at the special low introductory rate of $19.95 – a full 30% off the newsstand price!**

THE CATHOLIC WORLD REPORT
An International Catholic News Magazine

**P.O. Box 591300**
**San Francisco**
**CA 94159-1300**

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY, STATE, ZIP _____

☐ **Yes,** I want to subscribe to *CWR* and get absolutely **FREE** a copy of *The Shadowlands of C.S. Lewis* — outstanding selections from one of this century's top Christian writers. This beautiful, 224-page collection of excerpts from Lewis' best writings is mine to keep, just for trying *CWR*. Enclosed is my payment of **$19.95** *(six issues)*

**Satisfaction Guaranteed!** If not satisfied we will refund you for all unmailed issues.

**Credit card orders, call TOLL FREE: 1-800-651-1531**

**WS1NRP**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

litigation would take up too much of the President's time, and that suits would be filed against the President simply to harass him.

IS a criminal indictment any different in these respects from a civil suit? Some might argue that a criminal indictment raises different separation-of-powers concerns because it is the government, and not a private party, that is bringing the action. But, just as there is no textual or historical basis for giving the President immunity from civil actions, there is similarly no basis for declaring him immune from criminal indictment. If it is important to show that the President is not above the law with respect to civil wrongs, how much more important is it to uphold the rule of law when the President is accused of criminal behavior?

Others arguments against indictment aren't convincing either:

—Some have suggested that the indictment of a President would be null and void because it is up to the President to execute the law, all prosecutors exercise that executive power derivatively from him, and it is nonsensical to believe that the President can, in effect, indict himself. But this does not resolve the question of whether the President is immune from pre-impeachment indictment for a state offense.

—Another question raised by critics of the argument that a President may be indicted is: What would happen if a sitting President were convicted? Could he run the United States from a jail cell? This scenario seems rather fanciful because, in all likelihood, any such President either would be forced to resign, or would quickly be impeached.

—Judge Bork raises yet another argument, which is that the President has the power to pardon anyone accused or convicted of "offenses against the United States" and thus could render any conviction nugatory by pardoning himself. But, as Professor Freedman notes, this position is "logically unconnected to the issue of whether the officeholder has immunity while in office."

More importantly, the entire notion of an independent counsel, which the Supreme Court found to be constitutional in *Morrison* v. *Olson*, presupposes that the independent counsel can wield executive power in a manner that is independent from the President. Of course, if the President is constitutionally immune from criminal prosecution, no act of Congress can override or negate that immunity. But the Democratic Congress that initially promulgated the act in 1978 appears to have believed that the President was not immune from prosecution.

For one thing, under the act, subjects who, having been arraigned, are not eventually indicted are entitled to reimbursement of their attorney's fees. If the President can't be indicted, then his entitlement to reimbursement would be automatic. Second, although the act does provide for the independent counsel to forward "substantial and credible" evidence for impeachment to the House of Representatives, nothing in the act suggests that that is the sole function of the independent counsel. To the contrary, the fact that the President is explicitly covered by the act strongly suggests that Congress in 1978 believed that he could be indicted.

Why have legal scholars essentially ignored this evidence? Liberal legal scholars, who usually read the Constitution more flexibly than most conservatives, have no interest in attacking a Democratic President. And conservative legal scholars, many of whom served in the executive branch under a Republican Administration, are generally hawkish on executive power, even when wielded by a Democrat. Also, many, no doubt, are understandably reluctant to oppose a position initially developed and championed by Judge Bork.

Thus, while the evidence does not plainly establish that the President can be indicted, it does not establish conclusively that he may not. If the evidence suggests that President Clinton has violated criminal laws, Ken Starr is duty bound, at the very least, to undertake his own independent inquiry to assess the constitutionality of indicting the President. (The work of an independent counsel is never done.)

Professor Freedman advances one final, powerful theoretical argument for subjecting the President to criminal indictment. He writes: "Rather than degrading the office, as some have argued, the incumbent's amenability to prosecution enhances the reputation of the Presidency and reflects the nation's hopes: a good citizen will undertake the position as a public service, rather than as an opportunity for personal aggrandizement, and will therefore glory in the known constraint of acting lawfully."

President Clinton, apparently, has been glorying in other aspects of the office. □

# Babylon, California

ROB LONG

"WHAT's the big deal, anyway?" a Hollywood producer asked me over a lunch conversation about Bill Clinton, Monica Lewinsky, and Ken Starr. "So he had sex with her. How is that my business?"

"But she was his employee," I answered. "You're not supposed to have sex with your employees."

"You're not?" he asked, suddenly worried. "What? Is that like a law?"

"In some states."

"You're kidding me. In California?"

"I think so. It's called sexual harassment."

"Well, that's a stupid rule. If I didn't have sex with a woman just because she was an employee I'd be the loneliest guy in town."

"But don't you see the hypocrisy? Doesn't it make you upset? A couple of years ago, during the Clarence Thomas hearings, all we heard about from liberals was how degrading and upsetting sexual harassment was. It was so upsetting that women never made it up; in fact, they needed to be coaxed into lodging a complaint. Now that the shoe is on the other foot, suddenly we hear liberals talking about 'sluts' and 'girlish fantasies.'"

"Uh-huh."

"Doesn't that make you mad?"

"No. I never went in for that stuff anyway."

And that, in a nutshell, is why Hollywood, one of Bill Clinton's most stalwart wards, remains loyal to him throughout the hailstorm of crises and

*Mr. Long is a former co-producer of* Cheers, *and currently the executive producer of* George & Leo, *airing on CBS.*


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

scandals. They never went in for that stuff anyway—"stuff" like sexual harassment, health-care reform, and preserving welfare as we know it. What they do go in for—electric cars, town meetings, hugs, and female appointees—Clinton delivers in spades.

Clinton's slack-jawed disregard for reality and his monumental ability to deafen himself to the dissonance between his words and his actions are straight out of a Hollywood shrink's notebook. Hollywood is filled with health addicts and hypochondriacs, environmentalist drivers of gas-guzzlers, anorexic gourmands, and tyrannical socialists. We understand Bill Clinton out here. It's a question of style.

*This kind of self-pitying psychodrama used to be called "Nixonian." It's time to update our lexicon.*

You can tell a lot about a person, it used to be said, by watching how he treats the maid. In Hollywood, personal assistants are expected to tend to the most personal aspects of the boss's life, work around the clock, keep all the important secrets, and be grateful for a tiny salary. In other words, they can come to the Malibu beach house, but they can't look as if they're enjoying it. And the actual maid? She gets paid in cash and is fired the moment the children inadvertently begin speaking in Spanish.

Once, a few years ago, the personal assistant of a major Hollywood actor was fired while driving his boss to a Democratic Party fundraiser for mentioning that—since his boss was going to be introducing the President with a speech extolling his health-care proposal—perhaps now would be a good time to extend health-care coverage to his employee.

Ask Lani Guinier how it feels to be dropped on the way to a fundraiser. Or David Hale. Or Jim McDougal. Or Linda Tripp. Or . . . the list goes on.

Or consider the shabby, cowardly, unmanly way Bill Clinton treats his conquests—with denial and scorn and evident disgust—and the way he answers questions about Monica Lewinsky in perfect Hollywood studio oily-speak: we're trying to get to the bottom of this, he says, never acknowledging that surely he has already been to the bottom of this.

Then there's the whining. In an interview for a BBC documentary on Hollywood, the actor James Caan described location filming as "like Auschwitz." While it is sometimes true that location filming is difficult—even, let's be fair here, physically uncomfortable—it is not like Auschwitz. Not even a little bit. It's not even like taking the tour of Auschwitz. And, considering the luxurious trailers and the catering and the pampering attentions of the crew on a studio feature film, it's not even like a trip to Poland.

This kind of self-pitying psychodrama used to be called "Nixonian." It's time to update our lexicon. Nixon, at least, was generally disliked, even by his friends. (Some might say, especially by his friends.) Yet Clinton—in a style that will become known as "Clintonian"—has succeeded in making self-pity attractive by functioning, essentially, as his own Barbara Walters. He is the Commander-in-Chief, the leader of the greatest, most powerful nation on earth; he is the twice-elected, hugely popular Chief Executive of a giant government; and yet he wants you to feel sorry for him because people say mean things about him.

Does anyone remember how many mean things were said about Ronald Reagan during his Presidency? (Just to refresh your memory: he's old, his wife is mean, he hates the poor, he's Teflon, his children despise him, he's stupid, he broke the law, he's all surface, his wife follows astrology, he's going to launch a first strike, Meese is a pig, and the air-traffic controllers were right.) Does anyone remember Reagan giving a damn?

BEYOND the self-pity and the political hypocrisy, though, lies the true heart of the Clinton–Hollywood alliance: Bill Clinton is charming. When he looks at you or shakes you hand, it's like being zapped with six thousand volts of synthetic charm. From Sunset Boulevard, the Presidency looks like one big Oscar night: flashbulbs, private planes, applause, tearfully sincere speeches, and finger food. So if all you need is charm, hey, we've got a lot of charming people out here in the 310 area code. And they look at Bill Clinton and think, "That could be me."

Bill Clinton by Roman Genn

And why not? If this most inconsequential of Presidencies has any consequence at all, it's the stripped-down, almost zen redefinition of the requirements of the job: you must be emotional, you must have nice hair, you must be charming, and you must not do anything. Pretend for a minute that you're Tom Hanks. How hard does being President sound to you? It's pretty much what you do every day. There is one requirement that poses a real challenge: you must preside over a well-performing stock market. That one requires luck. But who's luckier than a movie star?

Orson Welles used to say that every movie star wants to be President. The irony, of course, is that when we actually had a movie star in the job, he acted like a politician. Now that we have a politician in the White House, he behaves like a movie star—and Hollywood finds the performance dazzling. □



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SLOUCHING TOWARD SUBURBIA

# Nonjudgment Day

*A new book suggests that the character of the American suburbs is changing—and not for the better.*

RICHARD LOWRY

TEN years ago, Allan Bloom wrote of American college students: "The relativity of truth is not a theoretical insight but a moral postulate, the condition of a free society, or so they see it." According to the world view of his students, "Openness—and the relativism that makes it the only plausible stance in the face of various claims to truth and ways of life and kinds of human beings—is the great insight of our times. The true believer is the real danger."

In *The Closing of the American Mind*, Bloom was describing the university of the 1980s, but he could just as well have been looking over Alan Wolfe's shoulder in Cobb County, Georgia, in the 1990s. Wolfe's account of the moral outlook of the American suburban middle class in his new book, *One Nation, After All*, is a dismaying depiction of the inroads that the cult of niceness has made in the "sensible center." New Class is meeting middle class; the pretensions are not as great, nor are the careers as high-powered, but the easy relativism and apotheosis of self are the same.

For decades, the Left and the Right have fought over the suburbs. From the hippie denunciations of Scarsdale to forced busing to academic rants about the racist wellsprings of suburbia, it's the Left that has been hostile to the world of tract houses and driveway basketball courts. Wolfe's book may be the first sign of a seismic shift, as the Left cozies up to suburbia while the Right begins to grow skeptical of what has traditionally been friendly territory.

Surveys of the sort done by Wolfe should always be taken with a grain of salt. In the 1960s, sociologists depicted the suburbs as, by turns, bastions of mindless conformity, and home to thoughtful, upstanding citizens. And when the pollsters and sociologists come knocking on the door, people are always more likely to emphasize their more acceptable—i.e., tolerant—views. Wolfe writes, "Over and over again, in every part of the country, middle-class Americans wanted it on record that they recognize that sometimes people need help and that they are prepared to pay for the help they need." They surely want it on record too that they are always kind to pets and small children.

But Wolfe's book is important. One might question his method—sixty-to-ninety-minute interviews with a very small sample (200), rather than a series of short-answer questions posed to a large sample. But in general he seems scrupulously cautious in his conclusions, and he went out of his way to include places in the South and West that aren't as predictably liberal as the Northeast (he sent out requests for interviews at random). The result is a relentless barrage of quotations from people from all walks of suburban life who apparently learned their ethics late at night from a college sophomore.

As Wolfe puts it, "Middle-class Americans have added an Eleventh Commandment: 'Thou Shalt Not Judge.'" Wolfe argues that there really is no culture war—because, essentially, the Left has won. "Intellectuals who take the conservative side in the culture war," Wolfe writes, "tend to assume that Americans have succumbed too willingly to what they call cultural relativism or secular humanism . . . The Middle Class Morality Project [Wolfe's research effort] found considerable evidence to support this claim."

Take religion. All surveys show that Americans overwhelmingly believe in God. But Wolfe's interviewees again and again demonstrate that People for the American Way has nothing to fear (see "Ghost Story," p. 32). Barbara Tompkins, the daughter of a Southern Baptist minister, lives in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Told of another interviewee who disapproved of homosexuality, she counters: "he cannot make a broad statement that that's wrong. . . . Why is it wrong for them? I mean, do we all have to have the same color hair?" She goes on to explain, "I think everyone inside has their own persona of God. You don't have to accept anybody's dogma whole. Live with the concept of God as you perceive it."

Mrs. Tompkins is typical. Wolfe calls this quiet faith. It could more accurately be called silent faith, a belief that applying any moral conclusions to the lives of others or to public policy in any way is wrong. Someone might feel offended, excluded. And, as Wolfe notes, "a reluctance to exclude turns out to be as powerful, if not more powerful, a moral force as a requirement to believe."

ANY requirement to believe that does exist is tempered by a fear and distrust of people who believe too much. Is there bigotry in America? According to a 1987 Gallup poll, 44 per cent of Americans were hostile to the idea of a religious sectarian living next door, as compared to 13 per cent who were uncomfortable with the idea of a black neighbor. An overwhelming majority of Wolfe's sample thought that "there is such a thing as being too religious."

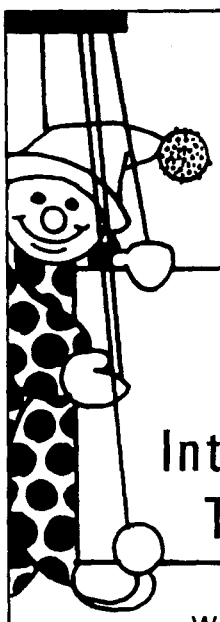
There is also such a thing as religion being too organized. Wolfe's suburbanites think they can do just fine spiritually on their own. "One doesn't need a religious structure in order to have morality," Wolfe was told by one resident of heavily Catholic, working-class Medford, Massachusetts. And if I don't, neither do you. "A generation ago," Wolfe writes, "Will Herberg wrote that Americans put their faith in faith. Now it would be more correct to say that they put their faith in people." Americans avoid judgment not because we are all sinners—the reason Jesus commands us, "Judge not"—but because we are all good.

Wolfe's middle class is profoundly individualistic. It is not, however, a rugged individualism. Instead, it's an "I'm OK, you're OK" strain that owes

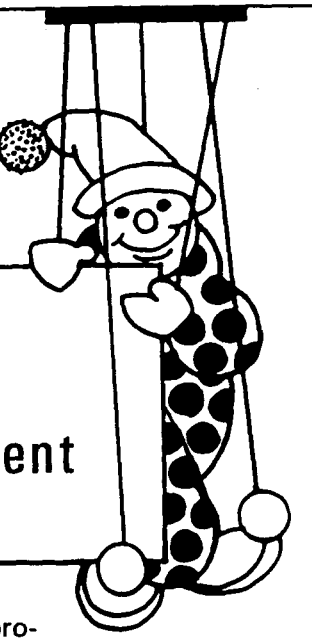
*Mr. Lowry is NR's editor.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



# The Credo of Liberal Catholicism



## A God without wrath
## Brought humans without sin
## Into God's Queendom without judgment
## Through a Christ without a cross.*

Walk into your typical liberal Catholic parish, and what do you hear in Father Flapdoodle's homily? God is love, love, love. God is tender and compassionate, and She accepts you *just as you are*. You don't hear about the wrath of God, for She never gets angry.

Since it's impossible to offend God, you aren't a sinner. There's no guilt, for we're all victims nowadays. So you don't hear about abortion, homosexual activity, adulterous thoughts, or blasphemous language. But you do hear about *certain no-no's*: "sexist" language, "homophobic" thoughts, failing to recycle, being unkind to animals, not loving yourself enough. For these transgressions you'll be shamed, shamed, shamed. But while Fr. Flapdoodle may become wrathful, God won't.

Since sin is a non-issue, nobody could possibly go to Hell. God is nonjudgmental and inclusive, and everyone floats off to Heaven in a pink sailboat.

And since "I'm OK, you're OK," there wasn't any need for Christ to die on the cross. What's truly important about "the Christ figure" was the self-actualized lifestyle it modeled for us. If you fall short in that regard, well, you can get psychological help (hey, Fr. Flapdoodle may provide it free!).

Now is this the faith for which martyrs suffered torture and death? Silly question!

Is this a faith for which a young person would give up marriage and family, would embrace lifelong celibacy? No wonder we have a shortage of vocations! No wonder there are so many sex scandals among the clergy and religious!

Is this a faith worth getting out of bed for on Sunday morning? No wonder church attendance among Catholics has dropped from 70%, before theological liberalism invaded the Church, to 25% today!

No wonder the Church is in crisis! But Fr. Flapdoodle and other puppets of the *Zeitgeist* have been receiving a stiff challenge of late. The papacy has been vigorously reasserting traditional doctrine and morality. Laxity and trendiness are being counteracted, abuses corrected. We at the NEW OXFORD REVIEW, a monthly Catholic magazine, stand up for orthodoxy. We not only describe what's wrong in the Church, we *explain* why things are wrong and what needs to be done to fix them. We give hope and courage to Catholics struggling to hold onto the Faith in all its splendor and truth. If you've had it with goofball Catholicism, subscribe now!

(Please allow 2 to 8 weeks for delivery of first issue.)

*Adapted from: H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Kingdom of God in America* (Harper & Bros., 1937). Rendered in "non-sexist" language — our apologies to Niebuhr.

### SPECIAL DISCOUNT RATES FOR FIRST-TIME SUBSCRIBERS

- ☐ One-year subscription ..... $14 (regularly $19)
- ☐ One-year student, unemployed, or retired person's subscription ..... $12 (regularly $16)
- ☐ Two-year subscription ..... $23 (regularly $35)
- ☐ One-year non-U.S. subscription ..... US$24 (regularly $29) Payment must be drawn in U.S. Dollars.
- ☐ Sample copy ..... $3.50

→ Our prices are *so low* because you can't pay by credit card and payment must accompany order. Send letter or this coupon with check payable to NEW OXFORD REVIEW. Mail to:

NEW OXFORD REVIEW
Room 4
1069 Kains Ave.
Berkeley CA 94706

NAME (Please print or type)

STREET ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as much to Alan Alda as to John Stuart Mill. "It is not an assertion of a zone of sacred autonomy against the claims of the state," Wolfe explains. "It is rather a generalized belief that people should find themselves." In whatever way they please: have a career, stay at home with the kids, leave your marriage, whatever. The imperatives are only that everyone maintain a veneer of niceness and that nothing ever become politicized, in the sense of becoming a matter of public debate toward the goal of establishing some social consensus.

ALL of this, in a way, is a tribute to the practicality and good nature of the American people; if they see that a large number of people believe something, their tendency is simply to accept the fact and tolerate it (which is why gays are so insistent that they are 10 per cent of the population). But if Wolfe's picture of suburban America is correct, we risk embarking on an unprecedented experiment: a society trying to live solely on the good intentions and internal instincts of its citizens, without the benefit of any institutional moorings or even any publicly reinforced moral norms.

Wolfe's respondents already see some of the fallout in their children. "Children these days," complains a typical parent, "have no concept of life or death, no concept of respect, no concept of God." Well, why should they? Another parent laments how "when [children] have so many choices, it's tough." Of course it is. Which is why societies typically don't rely on people, especially children, to make free, unencumbered choices; they are supposed to be reined in by churches, schools, neighborhoods, and all the social signals that Americans increasingly seem to regard as a violation of civil-rights laws.

How did we come to this pass? "The Revolt of the Elites," as the late Christopher Lasch put it, has reached further and further down into the middle class. Also, as Sam Francis and James Q. Wilson have both pointed out in their very different ways, the growth of public and private bureaucracy has slowly undermined Americans' independence and with it the stern virtues of pre–New Deal America. But the social landscape of suburbia itself may also be partly to blame.

Karl Zinsmeister raises this possibility in a brilliant article in the November/December 1996 *American Enterprise*. He argues that the suburbs themselves are a modern experiment, an effort to create communities out of whole cloth, with a range of unhappy results. Mothers left alone in lifeless communities all day revolted—and we got feminism. People living far from where they worked, and farther from where they had grown up, fell victim to rootlessness and social atomization, and so they began substituting for real neighborliness, which entails some responsibilities, niceness and tolerance, which entail only smiling and staying out of the way. (Professor Wilson defends the suburbs in the July 1997 *Commentary*.)

There are a number of possible political consequences. One obvious one is the public pass Clinton is getting in the latest scandal—*Judge not*. But others may be more profound. The antipathy

# Ghost Story

AMERICA is said to be in the early stages of a spiritual revival, a third Great Awakening, and conservatives smile at this, hoping it will mean fewer abortions and more Republicans in Congress. But here's a countervailing cultural fact for you which relates to spirits if not to spirituality as the term is conventionally defined. Right now, according to the *New York Times*, the number-one best-selling hardback non-fiction book in the country is one that explains how to contact the dead.

*Talking to Heaven: A Medium's Message of Life after Death*, by James Van Praagh, has been a best-seller for nine weeks. Dutton published it originally in a run of 10,000 copies but has since printed 600,000 more. And that was before Mr. Van Praagh appeared on *Oprah*. (He turns out to be a beefy guy who looks like an ex-cop but sounds a bit like Richard Simmons.)

The book isn't merely a how-to manual. It recounts the author's education at Sacred Heart Catholic School in Queens, N.Y.; his discovery of his "specialness" (i.e., his gift for hearing voices of dead people); and his realization that in "organized religion" the "leaders of religions are more interested in gaining power here on earth than preparing their flocks for salvation." Having been freed of his former "outdated" Catholic "mythology," Van Praagh set himself up in Los Angeles as a professional medium, conducting seances for individuals and large audiences, including recently the international audience of *Larry King Live*. His account continues with anecdotes of "sittings" in which he has contacted his clients' departed friends and relatives, from suicides to AIDS victims.

The section telling how to act as your own medium is the shortest and vaguest in a short and vague book. Basically what you do is, you meditate and develop the energy centers or chakras of your etheric body. Especially helpful are the "throat chakra" and "third-eye chakra," which respectively may be employed to hear and see spirits of the dead. Got that?

There are one or two reasons the commercial success of *Talking to Heaven* should concern us, not including the probability that Mr. Van Praagh is a faker. The seance stories in his book won't convince skeptics. Van Praagh's clients are constantly gasping, shrieking, uttering "shrill cries," breaking into sweats, and bursting into tears at his all-knowingness. But a lot of what he purports to hear from the Beyond could be guessed by a person with outstanding intuition, or just common sense.

Fakery isn't the point. An immensely popular charlatan who claims to talk with spooks is unsettling in a way that, for instance, a charlatan health guru is not. Historically our unease can be traced to the Bible's emphatic instruction to separate life from death and "choose life," expressed in the commandment against seeking out ghosts, and more subtly in the bans on cooking milk with meat, foods respectively symbolizing life and death, and on sex during menstruation, where a loss of potential life is acknowledged by withdrawing from the act that creates life. Hence the vaguely naughty thrill of a Ouija board, a Magic Eight Ball, even a scary ghost story.

To any charge of impiety, Van Praagh might respond that in *Talking to Heaven* and on TV he often speaks reverently of

*Mr. Klinghoffer is NR's literary editor.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

people display to politics and to the idea of moral ideas playing any role in public debate makes it that much harder to support a politics of serious purpose in America. The ground is more hospitable to a Clintonian politics of style, bluff, and trivia.

Wolfe's conclusions, by one interpretation, would cast a disturbing light on the 1996 election. The redeeming aspect of the election was the appeal President Clinton was forced to make to values, explicitly and also implicitly with mini-proposals like school uniforms and the V-chip. The promising notion for conservatives was that, if they wanted to, they could engage in values politics more vigorously. But Wolfe raises the possibility that it wasn't the moral content of Clinton's politics that attracted voters, but the symbolism of caring, of being in touch, of sharing their concerns—an empty and easily put-on populism.

At bottom, what we may be witnessing is the public's withdrawal from public life. If so, it has been abetted at times by conservatives engaging in their own brand of populism, a reckless trashing of the workings of government that has failed to distinguish between good politics and bad. This public withdrawal, and the rising subjectivism catalogued by Wolfe, could mean that soon we will have lost the ability to conduct reasoned debates among ourselves, and will only tell each other our feelings, our stories (a trend already noticeable in talk shows).

*'Children, these days,' complains a parent, 'have no concept of life or death, no concept of respect, no concept of God.' Well, why should they?*

Of course, it would be most unconservative to cast the suburbs into the outer darkness on the basis of one book. There is always the great horse-sense of the American middle class. Even as they are wary of imposing their values on anyone else, most Americans lead their own lives in a conservative, sensible manner. And some data in Wolfe's book run counter to his analysis: when Americans talk about homosexuality, words like "immoral" and "sinful" still have currency; they hate the idea of people who live in this country not learning English; and everyone wants welfare recipients to take responsibility for their own lives.

But, at the very least, conservatives may need to rethink their old populist *v.* elitist construct. At the same time, it is notable that Wolfe, a *New Republic* liberal, adopts a friendly tone toward the suburbs. He destroys the case that suburbia is a product of racism by quoting black suburbanites using all the supposed "code words"—crime, poverty, etc.—to justify moving away from the city. Once the stain of racism is removed, the Left may want to take a second look. If the suburbs increasingly

God, and teaches meditators to contemplate the "light of Christ." But atheism isn't exactly the point either.

Van Praagh preaches a rather specialized impiety. He is something more sinister than an atheist because less well understood: a New Age pantheist. When he condemns "organized religion," like most people who use that phrase, he doesn't mean religion that keeps its socks color-coded in a special drawer. He means Biblical religion. When he says "God," this refers not to the transcendent Lord of the Universe, but to a spiritual energy in everyone and everything. "I believe we are all God," he writes.

THUS in *Talking to Heaven* many of the qualities traditionally associated with God are attributed to spirits of the dead. Spirits get involved in your life, putting creative ideas into your head, helping you get jobs, and the like. You can pray to them for help and forgiveness, as Mr. Van Praagh recommended to a bereaved lesbian whose lover shot herself after a spat.

Mr. Van Praagh has learned many things from "God," a/k/a spirits. There is a Heaven, and a Hell, the latter for individuals who have failed to love other people sufficiently. "Ultimately, we are all here to learn to love." Heaven is a very late-Nineties sort of place. There are spirits like "social workers or therapists" who help the recently deceased adjust to their new status. You can have a girlfriend or boyfriend up there if you want. There is no "judgment" or "prejudice," and spirits learn to "respect each other's uniqueness." It sounds like a public elementary school.

Don't try arguing with him about any of this. The real problem with mixing up life with death is that the individual claiming to be in touch with the "other side" becomes a false prophet, conveying revelations about Heaven and about God to the unenlightened. Because the accuracy of his teachings can't be checked against anything—certainly not the Bible, that "outdated" book of "mythology"—the temptation to think of himself as a godling may grow hard to resist. (On the *Oprah* show, two clients hailed Van Praagh as their "savior.") If he gives in to the temptation, the awkwardness of viewing himself as quasi-divine can be covered up by asserting that, after all, *everyone* and *everything* is God. Mr. Van Praagh capitalizes the point in the last sentence of his book: "You are GOD!"

It should worry us that the country's number-one hardback best-seller ends on a note of proffered self-apotheosis. There may be a religious revival going on, but if so it's proceeding in two opposite directions simultaneously. In one, believers are being won over to a more earnest regard for the Supreme Being. In the other, they are being won over to the view that they are themselves the Supreme Being. The latter group has kept Neale Donald Walsch's *Conversations with God*, which takes a pantheist line similar to Van Praagh's, on the *Times* best-seller list for more than a year (see J. Budziszewski's review in the March 23 *NR*).

In *One Nation, After All*, Professor Alan Wolfe assures liberals that they can all calm down about the culture war since "*it is . . . being fought primarily by intellectuals, not by most Americans themselves*." He thinks traditionalists, theists as opposed to pantheists, have in large part already lost the war. After all, it's not professors and journalists who are reading *Talking to Heaven* and *Conversations with God*.

The enormous market for Christian books, which is not reflected on best-seller lists, suggests a more complicated picture than Wolfe presents. But either way, news from the publishing business is getting spooky.

—David Klinghoffer



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

accept the cult of tolerance while providing fertile ground for the "child-friendly" initiatives of the Clinton Administration, what's not to like? □

# Child's Ploy

*The rallying cry of the anti-smoking crusade may be 'Save the Children.' But adults are the real target.*

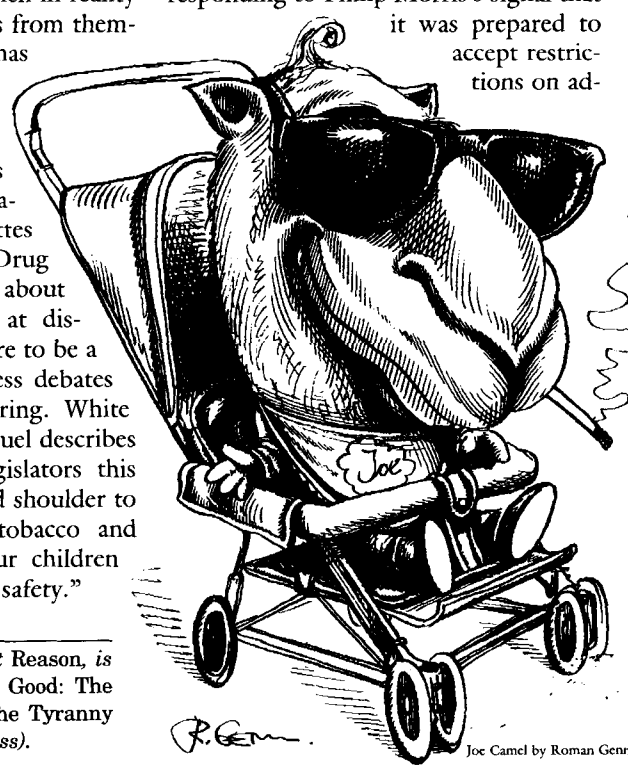
JACOB SULLUM

'EVERY Day, Without Action on Tobacco, 1,000 Kids Will Die Early." So says the headline of an ad on the op-ed page of the *New York Times*, conjuring up images of fifth-graders dying from lung cancer, 12-year-olds keeling over with heart attacks in the cafeteria, and high-school sophomores with emphysema wheezing as they climb the stairs on the way to their next class. The ad, sponsored by the National Center for Tobacco-Free Kids, is aimed at obscuring the fact that smokers die from their habit only after they've been puffing away for decades—putting them well into adulthood, by most people's standards.

Such propaganda is part of a broader effort to pretend that the anti-smoking crusade is about protecting "kids" from the Merchants of Death, when in reality it is about protecting adults from themselves. Saving the children has been offered as a rationale for higher cigarette taxes, restrictions on advertising and promotion, lawsuits against the tobacco companies, regulation of cigarettes by the Food and Drug Administration, and just about every other policy aimed at discouraging smoking. It is sure to be a persistent theme as Congress debates tobacco legislation this spring. White House advisor Rahm Emanuel describes the choice confronting legislators this way: "They can either stand shoulder to shoulder with corporate tobacco and their profits or protect our children and ensure their health and safety."

To get a sense of how misleading this is, consider a few numbers. In the 1996 National Household Survey on Drug Abuse, 29 per cent of the respondents had smoked cigarettes during the previous month (not necessarily every day). That translates into about 62 million Americans aged 12 and older. Of them, 4 million, or about 6 per cent, were under 18. In other words, more than 90 per cent of the smokers who would be affected by the anti-tobacco measures Congress is now considering—including proposals that would nearly double the price of cigarettes—are adults.

OK, say tobacco's opponents, the vast majority of smokers are adults. But they weren't always. "We know that three thousand children start smoking every day," President Clinton said in 1996, responding to Philip Morris's signal that it was prepared to accept restrictions on advertising and promotion. "We are concerned about the three thousand kids who become addicted every day," said Matthew Myers of the National Center for Tobacco-Free Kids.



Joe Camel by Roman Genn

That estimate, which has been endlessly repeated by activists, public officials, and the press, comes from an article published in *The Journal of the American Medical Association* in January 1989. Based on data from the National Health Interview Survey, the authors estimated that 1 million "young persons" became regular smokers each year in the early 1980s, which amounts to about three thousand a day. This figure refers to *20-year-olds*, since the study did not include data for anyone younger than that. Somehow these "young persons" metamorphosed into Myers's "kids" and Clinton's "children." At least one commentator (on CNBC) referred to them as "babies."

Now, it's true that most smokers—more than 70 per cent, according to the 1994 Surgeon General's report—are not legally adults when they start lighting up regularly. But they are not exactly "children" either: According to the National Household Survey on Drug Abuse, the mean age of people who started smoking daily in 1995 was 17.6. Yet the National Center for Tobacco-Free Kids runs ads that consistently portray smokers who look to be 11 or 12. According to the Monitoring the Future Study, which is overseen by the National Institute on Drug Abuse, fewer than 1 in 10 eighth-graders smokes so much as a cigarette a day.

I AM focusing on daily smoking—instead of, say, the first cigarette—because occasional smokers cannot reasonably be described as addicts, and tobacco's opponents claim that smokers are enslaved by nicotine before they're old enough to know better. As former FDA Commissioner David A. Kessler once put it, "Nicotine addiction is a pediatric disease that often begins at 12, 13, and 14, only to manifest itself at 16 and 17, when these children find they cannot quit. By then our children have lost their freedom and face the prospect of lives shortened by terrible disease."

This is the standard response to anyone who asks, "So what if people start smoking as teenagers? After they become adults, they've got plenty of time to quit before any lasting damage is

*Mr. Sullum, a senior editor at* Reason, *is the author of* For Your Own Good: The Anti-Smoking Crusade and the Tyranny of Public Health *(The Free Press).*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

done." Not so, says Kessler. Once they start, smokers *cannot* quit. They "have lost their freedom."

The problem with this argument is that it flies in the face of everyday experience. People quit smoking all the time. The same study that generated the three-thousand-children-a-day factoid estimated that between 1974 and 1985, about 1.3 million Americans quit smoking each year. According to the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, there are about as many former smokers in this country as there are smokers, and 90 per cent of them stopped without formal treatment, typically by quitting cold turkey. As then–Surgeon General C. Everett Koop noted in his 1984 speech calling for "a smoke-free society," smoking "is a voluntary act: one does not have to smoke if one does not want to."

But since quitting is often difficult, many Americans are understandably concerned about the recent rise in smoking by teenagers. Underage smoking declined more or less steadily from the late 1970s until 1992, then rose for several years in a row. In the Monitoring the Future Study, the percentage of high-school seniors who were daily smokers rose from 17.2 in 1992 to 21.6 in 1995. That was still well below the 1977 peak of 28.8, and the trend now seems to have leveled off. During the same period, marijuana use by teenagers also rose, following a 13-year decline. Yet this group of teenagers had been bombarded by the most intense anti-tobacco and anti-pot propaganda in U.S. history. By telling these kids, "Just Say No," the schools, the media, and the government may have taught them a more appealing lesson: how to offend adults.

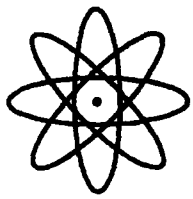
*While it may be true that the young are especially attracted to smoking, it is probably also true that people who are especially attracted to smoking tend to start young.*

In addition to the potential for backlash among rebellious adolescents, tobacco opponents should recognize that their efforts to reduce underage smoking might not have much of an impact on smoking by adults. Anti-smokers tend to assume that if everyone could be shielded from cigarettes until the age of 18 (or 21), virtually no one would smoke. As a recent *JAMA* article about tobacco advertising put it, "Once people are old enough to rationally evaluate the well-known health risks of smoking, they choose not to start." In *Smokescreen*, journalist Philip Hilts flatly asserts: "Adults *do not* start smoking."

But this is not the case even now: a minority of smokers *do* start as adults, and that group is likely to expand if efforts to discourage underage smoking are successful. While it may be true that the young are especially attracted to smoking, it is probably also true that people who are especially attracted to smoking tend to start young. Each individual's tastes, personality, and circumstances will determine whether keeping him away from cigarettes until he is an adult will prevent smoking or simply delay it.

Some anti-smokers have publicly complained about the focus on teenagers. "The anti-tobacco movement has


*Are you like most people... nervous about the stock market?*
*What would a decline in the stock market do to your stocks, mutual funds and retirement accounts?*
*Did you know that if your funds are in the stock market, your principle is at risk?*



**MIB Financial**
**1-800-575-1566**
*A full service, asset growth and protection company*

We have something *with* STOCK MARKET RETURNS— *without* STOCK MARKET RISKS.

*Yes, STOCK MARKET RETURNS without STOCK MARKET RISKS.*

*What would you say to:*

**12%** Fixed Returns on a 12-month program.
**21%** Fixed Returns on an 18-month program.
*With No Market Risk!*

**Your Principal is...**
- Fully Secured *and*
- I.R.A. & S.E.P. Qualified

*Maturity dates may vary.*
*Total contractual return cannot be considered an A.P.R.*

Call **1-800-575-1566** to find out what your stock broker doesn't want you to know.




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

careened off on this narrow path because they know it's noncontroversial," longtime anti-smoking activist Stanton Glantz told the *New York Times* in 1996. "But it's probably counterproductive. A kid-centered program is doomed to fail." Glantz worries that depicting smoking as an adult habit makes it more appealing to kids and lets the vast majority of smokers off the hook. "The best way to keep kids from smoking is to reduce tobacco consumption among everyone," he writes in the *American Journal of Public Health*. "The message should not be, 'We don't want kids to smoke'; it should be, 'We want a smoke-free society.'"

At a June 1997 meeting of the Advisory Committee on Tobacco Policy and Public Health, a panel chaired by Drs. Koop and Kessler, participants reminded their colleagues that they should not be blinded by their own save-the-children rhetoric. "The goal is not just to reduce childhood addiction to nicotine and to tobacco products," said Mark Pertschuk of Americans for Nonsmokers' Rights. "It's also to reduce adult addiction to levels which are feasible." Michele Bloch of the American Medical Women's Association made the same point: "I would ask that in our own recommendations, in addition to putting youth as our top priority, we not tie our hands from working on reducing adult smoking through penalties, etc., when the time comes." Stock up while you can. □

# Feminism Lives!

*In sexual-harassment law, there is a nugget of truth that keeps feminism vital.*

WENDY SHALIT

TO celebrate the 20th anniversary of Catharine A. MacKinnon's *Sexual Harassment of Working Women: A Case of Sex Discrimination*, the Yale Law School, the Yale University Press, and the University of Michigan Law School banded together to sponsor "Sexual Harassment: A Symposium" during the first weekend in March. Their symposium spilled over three days and eight panel discussions in the Yale Law School auditorium; it was all sexual harassment, all the time.

As was immediately clear, Catharine MacKinnon's writing had profoundly influenced many of the attendees' lives. Panelists offered adoring accounts of what they were doing when they first read a book by the harassment-law pioneer, as if recounting where they were when Kennedy was shot.

Reva Siegel, a professor at Yale Law School, recalled in the first panel that she had "first encountered Kitty's work as a student here during the 1980s in an anti-discrimination class, in which I found in my course materials chapter five of *Sexual Harassment of Working Women*, the chapter entitled 'The Legal Context.' You probably now know it in its subsequent revisions as 'Difference and Dominance.' And I can, and I'm sure I can speak for a number of people, say that I quite vividly remember reading the chapter, the very place I was, the light around me, and the utter exhilaration that I experienced in encountering Kitty's work."

Stanford Law professor Janet Halley later reminisced: "I can still remember the moment that I read the first word of Catharine MacKinnon's. I can remember the room I was in, I can remember the light, I can remember everything about the feeling that a huge wind was blowing behind me and I could put up a sail. It was *fabulous*." Even the male panelists reported this same blowing experience. Kendall Thomas, a professor at Columbia Law School, could "remember very well the first time I ever read Catharine MacKinnon, the sentence has never left me. It was a transformative moment. 'Objectivity is the theory, and objectification is the practice.' It just blew me away. It had the force of an epiphany."

Winds aside, the illuminati agreed on at least one point: that the bid to consider sexual harassment an actionable harm—it was recognized as such by the Supreme Court in 1986—has been a smashing success. Nonetheless, the timing of the conference meant inevitably that the Lewinsky scandal was hanging in the air, with its complicated political and intellectual fallout. If the conference demonstrated how some devotees of sexual-harassment law are not yet ready to accept the full consequences of their convictions, it also pointed to a deep dysfunction in male–female relations, one that neither the Left nor the Right is ready to grapple with seriously.

Catharine MacKinnon, for her part, was pleased that sexual-harassment law has increased "the public accountability of men for their sexual use and abuse of women" and "intervened in the traditional male prerogative of sexual access to women who are men's subordinates in a hierarchy, as most women are." But as for poor Monica Lewinsky, Professor MacKinnon explained: "In fact, the law of sexual harassment is not implicated in this most recent scandal. On no account so far was Ms. Lewinsky sexually harassed. No one has claimed unwelcome sex in Ms. Lewinsky's situation."

Andrea Dworkin disagreed. When Professor William Eskridge of the Georgetown University Law Center explained that the public wants to "leave the President to his own fantasies," Miss Dworkin politely but firmly corrected him: "I just want to say that, Bill, President Clinton didn't have a 'fantasy' when an actual woman actually committed a sexual act in relation to him. That's not a 'fantasy.'" She observed bluntly, "It was sort of news to us all, I would hope, that actually millions of men *wanted* to have a young woman in their place of work to s—— their c——. See, we didn't really think that this was what we were up against. We didn't really understand that it was *that* literal, *that* specific, *that* real."

WELL, many of the panelists concluded, in different contexts and in different forms, it is. Professor Robin West of the Georgetown University Law Center pointed out that sexual relationships between teachers and graduate students, undergraduates, high-schoolers, and

*Miss Shalit is a contributing editor of* City Journal.


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

middle-schoolers all may be "consensual and welcome," and yet still be "unwise." They are unwise because while on the surface these relationships are "welcome," in reality they are products of "a dominant culture that celebrates the commodification of our sexual lives as a form of postmodern, hip, liberated capitalistic sheep."

In short, although sexual-harassment law may have increased "the public accountability of men for their sexual use and abuse of women" (in Professor MacKinnon's words), it does not seem to have done enough to correct a certain private unhappiness among women. An unmistakable theme issuing from all the panels, and from the audience too, was that women still feel continually offended by men and pine to be treated more courteously by them. In fact, after one of the sessions, I discovered in Laura X—Director of the National Clearinghouse on Marital and Date Rape—a fellow fan of old movies. She likes them, she explained to me, because men were more civilized then. We were soon trading titles: "And what about Clark Gable in *It Happened One Night*?" I asked, and she replied, "Oh, I know, I know! Have you seen *Thousand Pieces of Gold*? Now in that movie the guy's a real *mensch*."

Yet curiously, if you make this point explicitly, and mention any non-legal understanding of how the sexes should relate to each other, feminists invariably recoil. When, after a session on "Unwelcomeness," I asked the panelists if it was welcome for a man to open a door for a woman, my question was met with outright alarm. Panelists looked at one another. One muttered nervously, "It would depend on who got to the door first." Professor Kathryn Abrams from Cornell Law School totally refused to answer my question, deeming it, in a very chilly voice, "less important than other things we could be talking about." Members of the audience burst into gales of laughter.

Over three days and eight sessions, mine was the only question any panelist ever refused to answer. Feminists' reliance on legal remedies seems directly proportionate to their reluctance to discuss how men and women ought to treat one another. They don't want to judge or to "impose our views" on anyone; instead, they depend on the heavy arm of the law to enforce what was once more efficiently regulated by custom.

So, some feminists are confused these days. But conservatives are too, especially those of us who eagerly embraced the Paula Jones suit. In our zeal to get the President, and our glee in pointing out the contradictions of feminism, some of us have overlooked one small thing: if feminists have been ludicrously inconsistent, and conservatives have consistently lined up against them, that makes us equally inconsistent.

*If some feminists are wrong in failing to criticize President Clinton, then an equal number of conservatives must have been wrong in failing to criticize thousands of men beforehand.*

Not so long ago, many conservatives were suggesting that sex pressured by power was "just life"; now that it concerns President Clinton, it is suddenly actionable. If some feminists are wrong in failing to criticize President Clinton, then an equal number of conservatives must have been wrong in failing to criticize thousands of men beforehand. Conservatives may sniff that it is perjury and not sex which they find troubling in the Monica Lewinsky and Kathleen Willey cases, but if *that* is really the case, then we have a bigger problem than the feminists do.

Most conservatives long ago surrendered the notion that a woman could be "taken advantage of"—the very phrase invites a riot of smirks—and so now the truths we used to understand have been hijacked by the feminists. Differences in nature have been reshuffled and spat out as differences in power. At every turn one hears conservatives hopefully proclaiming the "death of feminism," but they couldn't be more wrong. Feminism is not only alive and well, it lives precisely on what conservatives have forgotten.

This is what the fawning over Catharine MacKinnon is all about, the endearing moniker of "Kitty" and the worshipful talk of wind blowing and sails flying. It is easy to make fun of, but the fact remains that Catharine MacKinnon has captured the hearts and minds of many women for a reason, and so in the end it will not matter much whether or not she is perfectly consistent on the Monica Lewinsky affair. Women who identify with feminism will continue to do so not because they hate men, but because they feel mistreated by them. From vulgarity on the streets to transient husbands at home, our culture is not kind to women. As long as conservatives ignore this reality and remain incapable of addressing it, the personal will remain political.

That, at any rate, is what I learned at Yale. I also learned, during the "Same-Sex Harassment" panel, what was really going on when Professor Kathryn Abrams refused to answer my question and crisply deemed it unimportant. Apparently in spite (or is it because?) of the pressure toward "heteronormativity" and "compulsory heterosexuality" in our society, the phenomenon of same-sex harassment is quite common these days. But was my injury legally actionable?

After all, I did feel considerably marginalized when people in the audience laughed at me, and the panelists seemed quite hostile to my romantic point of view. Furthermore, a few days after the conference (March 4), the Supreme Court decided in *Oncale* v. *Sundowner Offshore Services* that same-sex harassment is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

most definitely against the law. I eventually decided not to press charges, though, since my job performance has not been markedly affected by the incident. Also, convinced as I am that basic courtesy is superior to litigation, I still hold out hope for a non-legal remedy. Perhaps one day Professor Abrams will answer my question by mail. Or perhaps not. □

# Joy Ride

*Auto-choice legislation would help consumers and hurt lawyers. Do the Republicans have a winner?*

JOHN J. MILLER

ON July 17, 1997—the day after the news broke of House Republicans' failed coup against Speaker Newt Gingrich—Majority Leader Dick Armey took refuge in a Senate Commerce Committee hearing on auto-insurance reform. Armey testified on behalf of legislation popularly known as "auto choice," which, as he told his Senate counterparts, could put billions of dollars "back into the pockets of real people—without costing the government a single penny."

It's an idea that other congressional Republicans may yet take solace in. Auto choice is perhaps the only new and substantive proposal that they will pass this year, but it is a beauty. The underlying issue—the rising cost of auto insurance—is one that affects every American who drives. This legislation would benefit the urban poor, potentially split the Democrats, and deny funds to a fiercely liberal interest group, the trial lawyers.

Not bad for a GOP otherwise in a defensive crouch. The idea is to allow drivers to save money on their auto-insurance premiums and receive quicker compensation for their economic losses resulting from accidents, in return for dropping their coverage for costly "pain and suffering" damages. Supporters estimate that premiums nationwide would drop by 24 per cent, creating annual savings of, on average, $184 per car, amounting to $35 billion economy-wide. Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D., N.Y.) calls it potentially the biggest tax cut of the decade.

The idea, which has been gaining momentum at the state level, is starting to catch on in Washington. The GOP leadership in both the House and the Senate favors it—Armey is a sponsor (he has offered only two other bills as Majority Leader), and Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott has promised floor action

*The idea is to allow drivers to drop coverage for costly 'pain and suffering' damages.*

*Mr. Miller is* NR*'s national political reporter.*

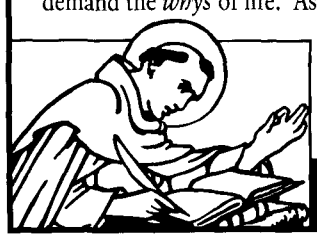

*There is a small Catholic college in the coastal mountains of Southern California unlike anything in your experience.*

Its students don't read textbooks or take notes on lectures. They delight in vigorous and rational arguments with each other and with their teachers.

Many of the teachers you know by name. Most of them are dead. Cicero, St. Augustine, Einstein, Dante, Kant, Aristotle, Homer, Euclid and the College patron, St. Thomas Aquinas, are among the permanent faculty.

With the help of tutors, students at Thomas Aquinas College read the original works of these teachers. Works that are difficult but rewarding. They are the books that made our civilization. They are the best.

Because the students at Thomas Aquinas College study the best, their minds grow free and strong. Like their teachers, they demand the *whys* of life. As they find them, the chilling fog of skepticism lifts. And the Catholic tradition emerges as the solid ground on which the buildings of truth and happiness are erected.



You can be part of this exhilarating community for four years. They may be the four most precious years of your life.

Contact Thomas J. Susanka, Director of Admissions.
Thomas Aquinas College,
Box 105, 10000 North Ojai Rd., Santa Paula, CA 93060
(800)634-9797 – www.thomasaquinas.edu – (805)525-4417

THOMAS AQUINAS COLLEGE




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this year. Meanwhile, a handful of Democrats—notably Sens. Moynihan and Joseph Lieberman (Conn.)—give it a bipartisan imprimatur.

But the bill's passage is hardly a done deal. Auto choice inspires strong opposition from the wealthy Association of Trial Lawyers of America (ATLA), a leading patron of the Democratic Party. Personal-injury lawyers handling auto-accident cases reap an estimated $17 billion annually, and the proposal threatens to reduce that take significantly. "Its defeat is very important to us," admits ATLA president Rich Hailey.

Auto choice grew out of a state-level movement in the 1970s to adopt no-fault insurance laws. No-fault laws essentially remove drivers' unlimited right to sue but guarantee a certain level of compensation for actual injuries; drivers recover economic damages from their own insurance companies, and can sue other drivers for pain and suffering only if losses pass a defined threshold. Needless to say, trial lawyers hate the idea.

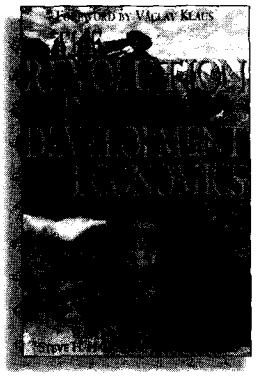
Actually, in the 1970s, no-fault was something of a liberal cause. Serving in the Massachusetts state legislature, Democrat Michael Dukakis sponsored and passed the country's first no-fault bill in 1971. Over the next several years, 16 other states followed suit. The Senate approved a federal bill in 1974, but the House, preoccupied with Watergate, never took it up. That proved to be a turning point. By the late 1970s, the trial bar had successfully exploited public concerns about no-fault's restrictions on the right to sue, and the movement sputtered out. Today, only 13 states have no-fault laws on their books.

Meanwhile, lawyers' fees and medical expenses kept driving auto-insurance prices up, even in states with no-fault laws. Trial lawyers successfully urged state legislatures to set low damage thresholds in their no-fault laws, making legal action almost inevitable in all but the most minor fender-benders. Often, accident victims would run up bogus medical bills in order to exceed the thresholds and enter the pain-and-suffering lottery.

By 1996, according to the National Association of Insurance Commissioners, the average auto-insurance premium had risen to more than $774 annually. Excessive litigation and medical fraud had fueled much of the cost increase, which had outpaced the rate of inflation by 50 per cent. Today


**"This book celebrates the achievement of Peter Bauer, whose ideas have been vindicated by a half century of history."**

—James M. Buchanan, Nobel laureate in economics



The collapse of communism and the statist model of development planning has led to a revolution in development economic theory. There is a new focus on, and appreciation for, the important roles that market institutions and cultural factors play in shaping economic performance, as well as the importance of private property, a concept first promoted by a pioneer in this field, Lord Peter Bauer. Other contributors to this book include Karl Brunner, Deepak Lal, Julian Simon, Alan Rufus Waters, Paul Craig Roberts, Sir Alan A. Walters, and Alvin Rabushka.

***The Revolution in Development Economics***
edited by James A. Dorn, Steve H. Hanke, and Sir Alan A. Walters, 350 pages, $22.95 cloth/$14.95 paper

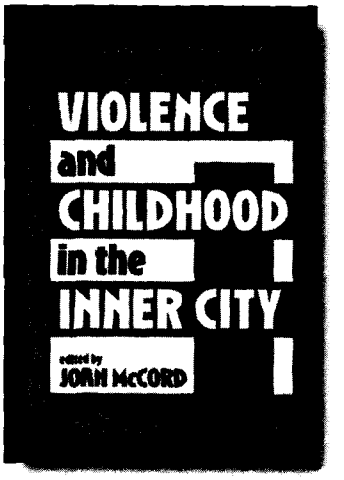
**Call toll-free to order: 1-800-767-1241**
**(noon-9 p.m. eastern time, Monday-Friday)**
**1000 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001**

CATO INSTITUTE

**Making our cities safer...**

**Violence and Childhood in the Inner City**
***Joan McCord,*** *Editor*

The contributors to this book believe that something can be done to make life in American cities safer, to make growing up in urban ghettos less risky, and to reduce the violence that so often afflicts urban childhood. They consider why there is so much violence, why some people become violent and others do not, and why violence is more prevalent in some areas. The authors also discuss how the urban environment affects childhood development. They review a variety of intervention strategies and consider when it is appropriate to use them and towards whom they should be targeted.




**Contributors:** *Joan McCord, Elijah Anderson, Robert J. Sampson, Terrie E. Moffitt, Ronald G. Slaby, Felton Earls, Jacqueline Barnes, Nancy G. Guerra*

***Cambridge Criminology Series***

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 58326-8 | Hardback | $59.95 |
| 58720-4 | Paperback | $19.95 |

*Available in bookstores or from*

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

40 West 20th Street, N.Y., NY 10011-4211
Call toll-free 800-872-7423.
Web site: http://www.cup.org
MasterCard/VISA accepted. Prices subject to change.




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

less than 15 per cent of each premium dollar pays for legitimate medical expenses and wage loss. Almost 30 per cent goes to lawyers, and at least 13 per cent pays fraudulent and excessive claims.

The trend, as a new report by the Joint Economic Committee demonstrates, hits urban residents and the poor particularly hard. The average premium for a 38-year-old woman in central Los Angeles with a clean driving record is nearly $3,500 per year. As a percentage of household income, the poorest 20 per cent of families spend seven times as much on auto insurance as the richest 20 per cent. No wonder so many drive without buying insurance at all—which is illegal in most states. "If I were to offer a tax this regressive," said Armey at a March 10 press conference, "I would be howled out of town."

REPUBLICANS hope that numbers like these will encourage more Democrats to support auto choice (some of the New Democrats in the Clinton Administration reportedly favor the idea). But the GOP will have to play it right. "Auto choice can't become another exercise in lawyer-bashing for the Republicans," warns one Democratic staffer close to the debate. "They have to think of this as a consumer issue that saves people money, not as tort reform." Armey's sponsorship is a mixed blessing. For all the political clout the Majority Leader lends to the cause, he also gives auto choice a partisan tinge that may repel wary Democrats.

Other factors work in favor of auto choice. The concept received an unexpected boost last November when the two off-year gubernatorial elections both revealed a public angry about the high costs of driving. In New Jersey, home to America's highest auto-insurance premiums, nine out of ten voters told the Associated Press that auto insurance was an important factor in their choice for governor. In Virginia, Republican Jim Gilmore coasted to victory on a promise to eliminate the state's car tax.

Auto choice first came to the attention of Armey and Sen. Mitch McConnell (R., Ky.), another key sponsor, because of Michael Horowitz, a budget counsel in the Reagan Administration who is now at the Hudson Institute. Horowitz joined with University of Virginia law professor Jeffrey O'Connell, a pioneer of no-fault insurance in the 1960s, to develop the auto-choice proposal. Their idea was to let each driver choose between staying in the current system—with its high costs but potentially big rewards in the event of a pain-and-suffering lawsuit—or switching to coverage simply for economic losses. They also added a federalist touch by suggesting that states should have the ability to opt out of the new system.

By writing law-review articles and making pitches to the mainstream media, Horowitz and O'Connell have assembled an impressively broad coalition in support of auto choice, from conservative Michigan Gov. John Engler to the *New York Times* editorial page. But the trial lawyers' lobby will try to replay the no-fault debates of the 1970s, which they essentially won by exploiting people's fears over losing their pain-and-suffering coverage. The ATLA likes to point out, for example, that if a child is killed in an auto accident and his parents have opted out of the expanded tort coverage, they won't recover anything more than medical and burial expenses unless the other driver was criminally responsible (e.g., driving drunk).

Business groups, meanwhile, are divided. Ford believes the bill will help it sell more cars because of the lowered cost of driving, and that it will also reap savings on insuring its own fleet of vehicles. General Motors, on the other hand, worries that if fewer people can sue for whiplash, more will target automakers with product-liability claims. The insurance industry is also split on auto choice, with State Farm taking a lead in support and others concerned that lower premiums will hurt their revenues.

Passing auto choice will require some careful handling by Republicans, and it won't be a shock if they end up failing this year. But at least in this case, they're moving down the right road. □

# Scout's Honor

*The Boy Scouts are under relentless legal assault because they are an affront to the age.*

E. V. KONTOROVICH

FOR more than eighty years, the Boy Scouts of America have sent young boys on arduous, fortnight-long hikes; taught them to survive alone in the wilderness; and guided them through countless other physical and mental challenges that have helped transform them into mature, responsible men. But now the organization faces a challenge greater than all of these: Can it survive the 1990s?

Recently, a New Jersey appellate court forced the Boy Scouts to give a scoutmaster post to James Dale, a gay activist and editor at *POZ*, a magazine for HIV-positive people. The divided bench overturned an old Scout policy of not allowing "avowed homosexuals" to serve as scoutmasters. What is particularly shocking about the opinion is its unabashed political expression. The court found that the Boy Scouts cannot discriminate against anyone, on any basis, because the organization is a "public accommodation," like restaurants and parks. Actually, the judges admitted that it wasn't much like a public accommodation as defined by the law, but they held that such limited definitions "would frustrate our goal of eradicating 'the cancer of discrimination' in New Jersey."

New Jersey is but one front in the nationwide attack on the Boy Scouts of America. Illinois was the venue of two recent defeats for the Scouts. Last year, a Chicago court ordered the reinstatement of a gay scoutmaster on the grounds of employment discrimination, despite the fact that the position is voluntary and unpaid. In February, the

*Mr. Kontorovich is a writer living in New York City.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

City of Chicago severed all its ties with 28 Scout troops, to settle a suit brought by the American Civil Liberties Union.

The ACLU claimed that the arrangements with the Scouts violated the separation of church and state. This is an odd contention given that BSA is not a church, or a religious organization of any kind. It is a nonsectarian group that simply insists that its members honor some sort of divinity in accordance with the dictates of their conscience. But instead of preparing to fight, several other municipalities have pre-emptively thrown the Scouts overboard.

The ACLU, captivated by vague emanations from the penumbra of the establishment clause, has completely forgotten the more concrete First Amendment right of free association—the right to fraternize with whomever one wants, a crucial underpinning of civil society.

*The ACLU has completely forgotten the more concrete First Amendment right of free association.*

This is a principle the California Supreme Court would do well to remember when it rules in two suits currently before it. In one, a pair of twins from Anaheim insist on retaining their membership in the Scouts despite their refusal to recite the Scout's oath, which acknowledges the existence of God. In effect, the twins' parents and supporters are using the courts to change the core credo of a voluntary organization. The California judges will also decide another suit brought by a gay scoutmaster. Arguments in similar cases will soon be heard by D.C.'s Human Rights Commission.

At this rate, it's no wonder that girls are starting to sue, because the Boy Scouts, by definition, discriminate against them. The California Supreme Court is considering discrimination charges brought by a teenage girl who thinks the Boy Scouts' exclusion of females is unfair because Girl Scout activities aren't as much fun. A similar suit has been filed in Florida.

The wave of litigation against the


Coalition of Republican Environmental Advocates

370 17th Street, Suite 4950 • Denver, Colorado 80202
303.454.8000 tel 303.454.8006 fax www.gop4environment.org

Gale A. Norton, *National Chairman*
Italia Federici, *President*

The Honorable Newt Gingrich
The Honorable Trent Lott
R. James Nicholson
Patricia S. Harrison

CREA's mission is to foster environmental protection by:

- Promoting community solutions to environmental challenges
- Highlighting Republican environmental accomplishments
- Building on our Republican tradition of conservation

**Don't let Al Gore and his liberal friends walk away with this issue!**
**Find out how you can help.**
**Call 303-454-8000!**

*Rid your home or plant of pests and vermin with the ...*

**Rodelsonix IX still only $69.95***

**But read this ad for an even better deal!*

•Rodelsonix IX *is an industrial-type unit, the most powerful you can get. It's a humane, clean, and*

Mice, rats, roaches, bats, fleas, spiders and other pests make life miserable at home or at the plant. Old-fashioned poisons get rid of them—but only temporarily, and they are a hazard to you and to your pets. *Rodelsonix IX* works on a different principle: It delivers a tremendous blast of ultra-sound—inaudible to you and to your pets—that disrupts the nervous system of those pests. They'll leave your home within a few weeks—never to return. There is nothing to prepare, nothing to set up—no poison and no mess. Pests just disappear.

*Rodelsonix IX* is a powerful industrial-type unit that protects up to 10,000 sq. ft. (70,000 cu. ft.). It has six variable pitch and "loudness" settings. You can even adjust it to keep larger pests, such as raccoons, pigeons, or rabbits at bay. Since it's clad in an enamel steel housing you can even use it outdoors.

*Rodelsonix IX* has been designed and engineered to work in restaurants, factories and food processing plants. It's that powerful and that effective. We can still offer this top-of-the-line industrial unit for just $69.95. But here's an even better deal: ***Buy two for just $139.90, and we'll send you a third one, with our compliments—absolutely FREE!*** Get rid and stay rid of those nasty pests once and for all. Get the best—get *Rodelsonix IX* today!

FOR FASTEST SERVICE, ORDER
**TOLL FREE (800) 797-7367**
**24 Hours a Day, 7 days a week.**

Please give order **#1007D492** for Rodelsonix IX(s). We need daytime phone # for all orders. Add $4.95 standard shipping/insurance charge (plus sales tax for California delivery). You have 30-day return and one-year warranty. We do not refund shipping charges.

**For Customer Service and for wholesale/premium quantity orders, please call 415-543-6675.**

*since 1967*
**haverhills®**
185 Berry St., San Francisco, CA 94107




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Scouts is not ultimately about the rights of gays, or atheists, or females. It is a challenge to the BSA's right to exist in its present form. Such an attack should not be surprising; if anything, it's odd that the Boy Scouts have hung on for so long.

The organization is a holdover from a vanished era. The *Boy Scout Handbook* still bears Norman Rockwell paintings of scouting activities, offered without a trace of irony. Even the BSA's by-laws talk about "character building." The Scouts' charter still calls on leaders "to teach [the boys] patriotism," and members still take an oath "to do my duty to God and my country."

The BSA has always been an apolitical, nonpartisan organization. But today its leaders and lawyers must defend its membership policies by saying it stands for "conservative moral views." The BSA's policies have not changed significantly since it was chartered by Congress in 1916. What has changed is the underlying society.

Endorsing specific, non-negotiable values has become a conservative position. The existence of the Scouts irritates the ideologues of modernity—and so hordes of litigators, the antibodies of a dissolute culture, have responded by attacking the foreign body. If the courts find in favor of the plaintiffs in the undecided cases, the meaning of the Boy Scouts will be greatly eroded. The organization will become the Gay Godless Girl/Boy Scouts of America. It is only the right to restrict membership and insist that members follow rules that can give a civic group definition.

In that light, consider the plaintiffs' order of battle: the ACLU; the Lambda Legal Defense Fund; the Parents, Families, and Friends of Lesbians and Gays; and the American Atheists. Yes, the American Atheists: united by common disbeliefs.

Fundamentally, it is meaninglessness that lies at the core of the attack on the Boy Scouts. This is a competition not between rival sets of values but between the idea of values and an antinomian moral vacuousness. The comments of plaintiffs and judges show that the intent is not just to destroy the Scouts; it is to deconstruct them.

For example, the Scout's oath has a clause about "keeping myself . . . morally straight," a provision the BSA says is on its face incompatible with homosexual activity. "There is nothing in [the Scout's oath] about homosexuality," says Timothy Curran, the California gay seeking reinstatement as a scoutmaster. "It says you must be 'morally straight' but you can define that any way you want." Which is precisely what New Jersey's jurisprudes chose to do.

There are tough days ahead for the Scouts, but they vow that they are in it for the long haul; all parties agree that the U.S. Supreme Court will finally have to rule on these issues. Until then, how can one support the Scouts? Perhaps one can give their enemies a taste of their own medicine. Religious believers should join the American Atheists in droves and introduce Sunday Mass, daily prayers to Mecca, and the donning of tefillin at every meeting.

But no, that's not right—it wouldn't be in keeping with the Scouts' spirit of fair play. Instead, the Scouts need donations to fund their ongoing appeals and fill the gap left by cowardly towns and cities. □

# Charter Reformer

*Arizona's superintendent of schools points the way to an education revolution.*

CLINT BOLICK

LISA Graham Keegan, Arizona's Superintendent of Public Instruction, is a petite 38-year-old with a big smile and an irreverent wit who enjoys horseplay with her two kids and scuba-diving off Key West. She is also a revolutionary, the most innovative education reformer in the country, pushing a policy agenda that could radically change the politics of education reform nationwide.

Mrs. Keegan has announced that if she wins election to a second term in 1998, she won't take her constitutional oath unless the state adopts the most sweeping education reform in this century: putting an equal amount of education funding behind every child in the state, and letting families choose where to spend it. Or, as Mrs. Keegan puts it, "strapping the money to the child's back and following her wherever she goes."

Child-centered funding would transform the concept of public education fundamentally, from a system of districts and buildings to one that supports education wherever it takes place. It also would shake the education bureaucracy to its core. Mrs. Keegan likes it for both reasons. "Let's focus on children rather than monopolies," she declares. "We ought to be unapologetically focused on that."

Lisa Graham Keegan was steeped in politics from childhood up. Her family hails from Nebraska, where her great-grandfather—apparently the only Democratic renegade in an otherwise Republican lineage—served in the U.S. Senate. Her father worked in the timber industry and instilled in Lisa a strong sense of individual liberty and political contrariness, preparing her for the political terrain of their adopted state of Arizona.

*Child-centered funding would transform the concept of public education, from a system of districts and buildings to one that supports education wherever it takes place.*

Lisa Graham's early career was as a speech pathologist, helping victims of

*Mr. Bolick is litigation director at the Institute for Justice in Washington, D.C., which is defending school-choice programs in Wisconsin, Ohio, Arizona, Vermont, and Maine.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

brain injury recover their speech skills. She watched from the sidelines as corruption charges were bringing down then–Governor Evan Meacham. Legislative sessions were televised, and she found the level of discourse appalling. "You didn't know whether to listen to them or try to treat them," she says.

Mrs. Graham decided in 1990 to run herself for the state legislature from the heavily Republican Scottsdale district. However, the district was already represented by a longtime GOP incumbent. Party elders tried to dissuade her from running, but in the end, the incumbent withdrew from the race and Mrs. Graham coasted to victory.

Lisa Graham arrived in the legislature just after scandal had implicated a number of Arizona officials. Several legislators resigned, creating a leadership vacuum in the legislature, and Rep. Graham ran for a leadership post in 1993. She lost, but was appointed to head the House Education Committee, where she was shocked at the sad state of the Arizona schools. "There ought to be rioting in the streets," she says. "Not enough people have seen it up close to be scared to death."

AS a first step toward reform, she proposed paring the 700-page education code to 15. The education establishment fiercely resisted, and the proposal was defeated. "Talk about losing your political virginity," she says. Vowing to prove that "they do not run this system," Rep. Graham came back in 1994 with even more systemic reform: school choice.

Along with State Senator Tom Patterson, she pushed relentlessly, earning the sobriquet "voucher queen" and ultimately coming closer to enacting a statewide school-choice program than anyone has anywhere else before or since. The proposal died, one vote short in the House, at 3:00 A.M. on the last day of the 1994 session.

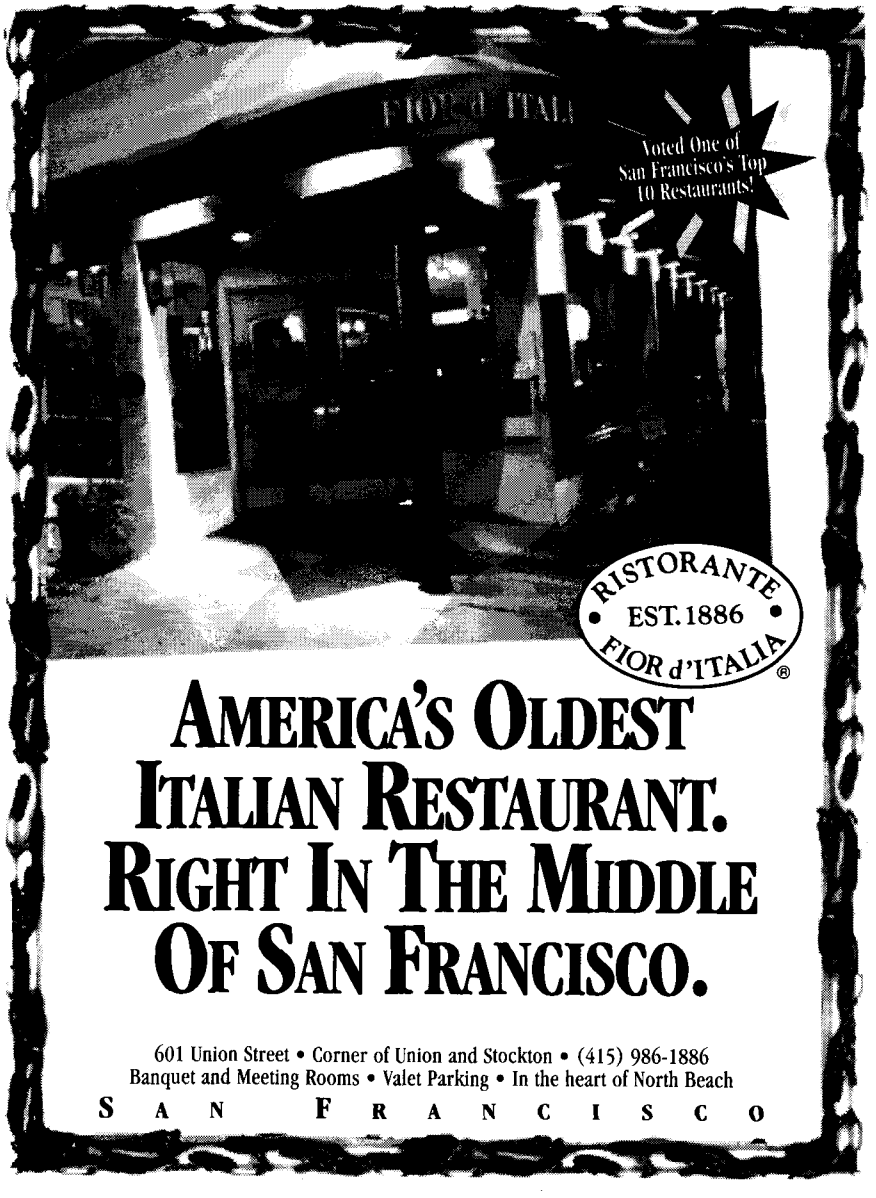
But Republican Governor Fife Symington called the legislature back into session, and Rep. Graham pushed for a "compromise": the nation's most far-reaching charter-school program. Worn down, reform opponents caved and the bill passed overwhelmingly in both chambers.

Watching the education establishment try to water down the program through regulations, Lisa Graham had an inspiration. "Control freak that I am," she says, she decided to run for Superintendent of Public Instruction and implement her program herself.

The position had been controlled by Democrats for two decades, but Rep. Graham was undaunted. The state teachers' union, she figured, was a "paper tiger—much of their strength is bluff." Rather than being defensive about her stand on school choice, she attacked the education establishment forthrightly for its dismal record, and won by 16 points.

She opened the door for private and nonprofit groups to sponsor charter schools, and created an independent charter-school board to approve applications quickly. In the three years since she took office, already 250 of the state's 1,300 schools have become innovative, lightly regulated charter schools which, according to Goldwater Institute studies, are producing impressive academic results and a positive competitive response from traditional public schools. Furthermore, the schools are growing in popularity: as a selling point, Continental Homes announced recently that five of its new developments would feature charter schools.

Mrs. Keegan (in 1995 she married State Rep. John Keegan, one of the new legislators elected in the wake of the scandal) has been pushing other important initiatives as well: last year, she helped get the legislature to pass a $500 state income-tax credit for contributions to private scholarship funds (the Arizona Supreme Court will soon rule on its constitutionality); she has set stringent quality standards for public schools; and she curtailed a top-down "environmental curriculum" in favor of rebating money to schools to beef up science courses.



Voted One of
San Francisco's Top
10 Restaurants!
RISTORANTE
• EST. 1886 •
FIOR d'ITALIA®
AMERICA'S OLDEST
ITALIAN RESTAURANT.
RIGHT IN THE MIDDLE
OF SAN FRANCISCO.
601 Union Street • Corner of Union and Stockton • (415) 986-1886
Banquet and Meeting Rooms • Valet Parking • In the heart of North Beach
SAN FRANCISCO




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But her boldest gambit is her unorthodox stand on tax-equity litigation. In more than two dozen states, liberals have challenged unequal spending among school districts. In New Jersey, for instance, the state's school-finance system twice has been declared unconstitutional, leading to massive tax hikes but no educational improvement. After the New Hampshire Supreme Court last year struck down that state's finance system, Republicans such as Steve Forbes, Lamar Alexander, and John Sununu announced a counterattack under the banner of "local control."

IT'S a tack that's utterly wrongheaded, according to Lisa Keegan. First, she agrees with liberals that funding disparities are a problem. But, more fundamentally, she thinks the mantra of "local control" is a mistake because "local school districts are government-run monopolies"—a source of the problem, not the solution. "Let's give up on local control and move on to kids," she argues.

So, when Arizona's Supreme Court struck down the state's school-finance system in 1994, she bucked Governor Symington by embracing the decision. She sees the liberals' wager and raises it substantially by saying: Equalize funding, but put it in the hands of parents and the school they choose. This has the effect of replacing "local" school-district control with parental and school-based autonomy.

If state education funding were provided directly to families, as Mrs. Keegan advocates, it would render the local school districts—along with their money-siphoning, special-interest-laden bureaucracies—largely superfluous. Public dollars directed by parents to public schools would stay in those schools—under the control of principals and teachers. School districts would receive funding from constituent schools, not vice versa.

Not surprisingly, many public-school teachers like the idea, and most administrators oppose it. Mrs. Keegan's concession is initially not to include private schools in her plan. "We first have to redefine public education as education in the public interest," she says. "Once the infrastructure is there, and parents understand their children are where they are because they signed the form, they'll get used to the concept of choice."

Child-centered education reform will work best where the state contributes significantly to local school funding, less well in places like New Hampshire where local funding still prevails. But overall, Mrs. Keegan's proposal has considerable political advantages, and could give Republicans a new weapon to fight with on an issue that traditionally has favored Democrats. It would steer Republicans away from the temptation of proposing national solutions to local problems (e.g., federally sponsored standards and testing). Meanwhile, funding students rather than schools is likely to appeal viscerally to mainstream Americans—and it is a far deeper systemic reform than anything the Democrats can offer.

"There's powerful moral authority in saying 'education for all the children,'" says Mrs. Keegan, who compares her proposal to the partial-birth-abortion issue in its potential power. She is pushing to attain three simple, easily understood goals: putting an equal amount of money behind every child, empowering parents to choose their child's school, and letting schools control themselves. "That's focus," she says. "That's what the Republicans need."

Lisa Graham Keegan will provide the first road test of these ideas in November when she runs for re-election, her candidacy symbolically yoked to a ballot initiative for statewide student-centered education funding. A victory would mean this ebullient soccer mom has kicked a crucial support out from under the education establishment, and perhaps pointed the way to its ultimate demise. The teachers unions should regret ever having provoked her. □

# The Old Ballgame

***Baseball is increasingly a thing of the past. What happened to the national pastime?***

CURT SMITH

NOT long ago America seemed umbilically attached to baseball. Hitting fungoes, citing batting averages, trading a dozen Red Sox playing cards for a dog-eared Mickey Mantle—young males thought of little else.

"In our youth," recalls NBC's Bob Costas of the Fifties and early Sixties, "baseball was everything." By day, my friends and I forged pickup games. At night, we turned to baseball the way a heliotrope turns toward the sun. Traversing the dial, you heard Mel Allen and Curt Gowdy and Lindsey Nelson and Ernie Harwell. Each of these Voices affirmed baseball as the finest game in the land.

The archetypal announcer was Harry Caray. *It might be!* Sport's Jackie Gleason. *It could be!* The man who made "Take Me Out to the Ballgame" half-anthem and half-command. *It was!* Caray's banter wafted into small shops and gas stations and gentle back yards. His death last month led millions to weep—for Caray, and his game.

In the Eighties, Caray became a patch of folklore on superstation WGN-TV—rasping, "You can't beat fun at the ol' ballpark." This, although fun has largely fled baseball—popularity, too. Today's kids wear grunge shirts, buy Dennis Rodman jerseys, and seem allergic to baseball's gentle rhythms. Caray was beloved because he believed in a splendid arcadia—baseball as it once was, and we pray can be again.

For Caray, baseball was a way of life, not a diversion. And until about the last decade, most Americans agreed. Like jazz and Broadway, baseball was a peculiarly American institution—so much the quintessence of America that in World War II Japanese soldiers, charging our positions, cried, "To hell with Babe Ruth!" A decade later, Dwight Eisenhower was scorched for missing

*Mr. Smith is a radio commentator, university lecturer, former speechwriter for President Bush, and author of seven books, including the current* Windows on the White House *and* Voices of the Game.


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Opening Day (he had stayed at his retreat in Augusta, Ga., to play golf); as President, he never missed another.

"That's how it was," Caray told me recently, "and anyone who says otherwise has a lousy memory." As a small boy, I aped the Yankees' Bobby Richardson. Others picked Luis Aparicio, a palatine at shortstop, or Ted Williams, John Wayne in baseball woollies. Each October, the World Series became a U.S. town meeting. Classes erupted as Ted Kluszewski homered, or Yogi Berra showed that as a "bad-ball hitter" he could summon good.

Forget the old saw that in spring a young man's fancy turns to love and baseball. Recall that just a decade ago, according to Gallup, baseball barely trailed the NFL as the nation's favorite sport. How did it fall so far, so fast?

One cause is organized baseball itself. Many owners are bottom-lining Hessians. Stupidity compounds their greed. The late Edward Bennett Williams owned the baseball Orioles and football Redskins. "What's dumber than the dumbest football owner?" he'd ask. "The smartest baseball owner."

Pro football markets itself better than Frank Capra did World War II. By contrast, baseball spurns national promotion. In 1990, it killed its sole network grandstand—TV's *Game of the Week*. (The revived *Game* begins when the season is already two months old.) The sport hasn't had a commissioner since 1992. Its 1994–95 strike aborted one season and truncated another, and killed the World Series for the first time since 1904. Moreover, the World Series is now all prime-time. How can kids fall in love with a game if they're asleep when it's played?

In a Lou Harris poll in 1964, 48 per cent of Americans named baseball their favorite sport. This year, says Gallup, 17 per cent did. From 1954 to the early '80s, *TV Guide* hailed each season with a cover preview. In 1993, an inside story asked, "How did the sport become a second-rate TV draw?" In 1994, *Sports Illustrated* asked kids aged 9 to 12 which sport they preferred reading about. The NBA beat baseball, 57 to 17 per cent. In 1996 and '97, the World Series' Nielsen rating was barely half of 1980's 32.8.

*Conceivably the game could still thrive by touting itself as a sanctuary from our attention-deficit disordered time. Instead, it tries to mime the age, a foolish, hopeless task.*

Even Acting Commissioner Bud Selig says: "In the Forties and Fifties, baseball had DiMaggio, Williams, and Jackie Robinson. That kind of dominance by today's players doesn't exist." Baseball has too few stars and not enough young fans. Says the Indians' Dwight Gooden, noting how NBA sneakers are everywhere: "I don't see kids walking to school in baseball spikes."

Baseball's decline also stems from the Nineties' cesspool culture. The Nineties celebrate taunting and trash-talking. Baseball evokes a Mayberry of picket fences and unlocked homes. The Nineties move to the non-stop cross-cutting of music videos. Baseball is rational and leisurely (imagine—time to think between pitches!). The Nineties disdain history. Baseball prizes tradition and salutes its long-gone heroes.

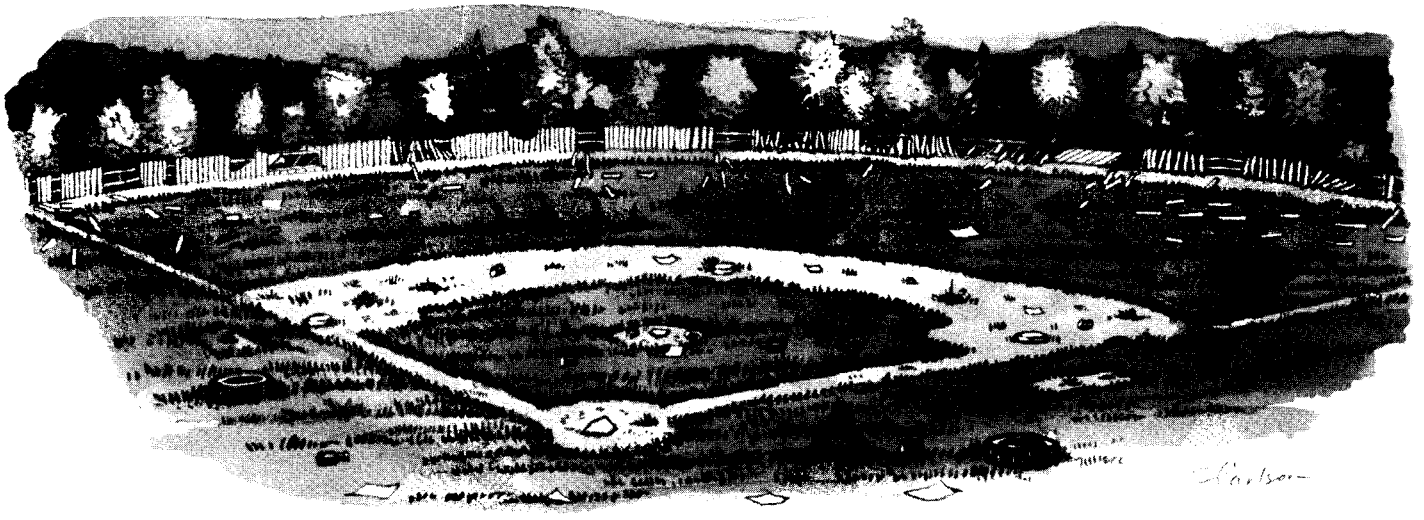
The late Bart Giamatti called baseball "an unalloyed good." Conceivably the game could still thrive by touting itself as a sanctuary from our attention-deficit-disordered time. Instead, it tries to mime the age, a foolish, hopeless task.

"Every business has a cardinal rule," Caray observed. "Don't be something you're not." He knew what kind of baseball worked—real grass, chitchat between pitches, riveting announcers, and parks heavy with individuality. He also knew what kind didn't work—domes, mascots, and rap music between innings.

"Baseball forgot what made us fall in love with it," Costas says. Football is weekly, an event. Baseball is daily, a fact of life. Basketball is a greyhound you thrill to. Baseball is a cocker spaniel who steals your heart.

Perhaps we are no longer capable of admiring a game more poetic and cerebral than slam-bang or cutting edge. Caray didn't think so. Nor did Giamatti, who loved its variety. A student once asked about the NBA. "Young woman," he replied, "I will not talk about thumpety, thumpety, thumpety, swish!"

Recently, Caray was reminiscing about FDR's edict to keep baseball alive in World War II. "Imagine," he told me in his whiskied voice. "Hitler couldn't kill baseball. Tojo couldn't kill baseball. But baseball"—and perhaps America—"could." □



Frederick H. Carlson



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# The Right Music...

## *Your Favorite Music and Entertainment*

## White Cliffs Of Dover

### 42 Great WWII Love Songs

***Original Hits! Original Stars!***

Here are 42 of World War II's most cherished love songs which will rekindle your warmest memories.

**Always** Deanna Durbin • **Seems Like Old Times** Guy Lombardo • **I'll Be Seeing You** Jo Stafford • **Moonlight Becomes You** Bing Crosby • **My Devotion** Vaughn Monroe • **Lili Marlene** Perry Como • **My Prayer** Ink Spots • **I Think Of You** Tommy Dorsey, Frank Sinatra • **Marie** Tommy Dorsey • **Sleepy Time Gal** Harry James • **Harbor Lights** Frances Langford • **My Buddy** Sammy Kaye • **Linda** Buddy Clark • **Deep Purple** Larry Clinton, Bea Wain • **As Time Goes By** Dooley Wilson (Sam) • **To Each His Own** Eddy Howard • **Miss You** Dinah Shore • **Auf Wiederseh'n, Sweetheart** Vera Lynn • **Five Minutes More** Tex Beneke • **Now Is The Hour** Bing Crosby • **Dancing In The Dark** Artie Shaw • **Peg O'My Heart** Harmonicats • **La Vie En Rose** Edith Piaf • **That Old Black Magic** Glenn Miller • **Sleepy Lagoon** Harry James • **It Had To Be You** Helen Forrest, Dick Haymes • **Serenade In Blue** Glenn Miller • **Mexicali Rose** Bing Crosby • **That Old Feeling** Shep Fields • **We'll Meet Again** Guy Lombardo • **Mam'selle** Art Lund • **Maria Elena** Jimmy Dorsey, Bob Eberly • **You'd Be So Nice To Come Home To** Dinah Shore • **White Cliffs Of Dover** Kay Kyser, plus more!

**THE WHITE CLIFFS OF DOVER**
**#124917 3 Cassettes $19.95** **#124925 2 CDs $24.95**

---

## Andre Kostelanetz

### *A Love Collection*

### 40 Of His Most Cherished Recordings

The name **Andre Kostelanetz** simply means beautiful music. The elegantly rich sound of his orchestra and chorus will always be the quintessential sound of romance.

**Fools Rush In • While We're Young • These Foolish Things • Days of Wine And Roses • Dancing On The Ceiling • Ebb Tide • Unchained Melody • I'll Get By • People • Tonight • The Nearness Of You • I'll Remember April • Try A Little Tenderness • Moon River • Liza • On A Clear Day • The Man I Love • Star Dust • Till There Was You • Love Me With All Your Heart • I Don't Know Why • April In Paris • Blue Velvet • What Are You Doing The Rest Of Your Life? • Fly Me To The Moon • What Now My Love • My Funny Valentine • I Wish You Love • You Go To My Head • Don't Blame Me • Someone To Watch Over Me • Love Is A Many Splendored Thing & more.**

**ANDRE KOSTELANETZ**
**#143917 2 Cassettes $19.95** **#143925 2 CDs $24.95**

## The Kingston Trio

### 36 All-Time Greatest Hits

Remember folk music in the 50s? And when three clean-cut guys in button-downs started packing campus coffee houses and ended up bringing down the rafters of the nation's concert halls. Their lively style combined ethnic music, catchy lyrics and guitar improvisation. Relive the days when "this land is your land" was on everyone's lips with this delightful 3 CD or 3 Cassette collection.

**Tom Dooley • Lemon Tree • They Call The Wind Maria • The Wreck Of The John B. • Wimoweh • The Patriot Game • Hard, Ain't It Hard • This Land Is Your Land • Raspberries, Strawberries • Seasons In The Sun • Turn Around • Scotch And Soda • The Tijuana Jail • Where Have All The Flowers Gone • Reuben James • Scarlet Ribbons • The Reverend Mr. Black • Zombie Jamboree • Try To Remember • Greenback Dollar • It Was A Very Good Year • 500 Miles • This Little Light • Bad Man's Blunder • Across The Wide Missouri • Desert Pete • Hard Travelin' • The River Is Wide • Everglades • You Don't Knock • Blowin' In The Wind • Ally Ally Oxen Free • South Coast • El Matador • A Worried Man • M.T.A.**

**THE KINGSTON TRIO**
**#136614 3 Cassettes $24.95**
**#136622 3 CDs $29.95**

---

## Dean Martin

### His Vintage Recordings

### 20 Great Hits

Memories are made of songs by Dean Martin. Here are 20 of his greatest, best-loved hits!

**Return To Me • Memories Are Made Of This • You're Nobody Till Somebody Loves You • Dream A Little Dream Of Me • Dream • When You're Smiling • That's Amore • I've Grown Accustomed To Her Face • Just In Time • Just Say I Love Her (Dicitencello Vuie) • Sway (Quien Sera) • You Belong To Me • All I Do Is Dream Of You • I'll Always Love You • Someday (You'll Want Me To Want You) • Angel Baby • It's Easy To Remember (And So Hard To Forget) • Cha Cha Cha D'Amour (Melodie D'Amore) • Standing On The Corner • Volare**

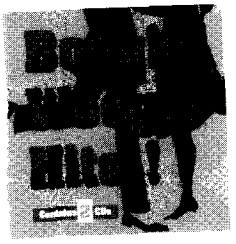
**DEAN MARTIN**
**#106518 Cassette $10.98**
**#106526 CD $14.98**

**OUR GUARANTEE: If for any reason you are not 100% satisfied with your purchase, you may return it within 30 days for a complete refund. So order with confidence!**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# For The Right People

## *on Cassettes and Compact Discs!*



## Boogie Woogie Hits

### *40 Original Hits*

With its upbeat eight-to-the bar tempo, Boogie Woogie burst upon the American pop music scene in the late 1930's. Soon the country's top big bands were drawn to the joyful Boogie beat — and young America took this irresistible music to its heart.

**Boogie Woogie** Tommy Dorsey • **Boogie Woogie Bugle Boy** Andrews Sisters • **Honky Tonk Train Blues** Bob Crosby • **Drumboogie** Gene Krupa/Irene Daye • **St. Louis Blues** Earl Hines • **Kitten On The Keys** Freddie Slack • **Chattanooga Choo Choo** Si Zentner • **Hindustan** Billy Mure • **Mr. Anthony's Boogie** Ray Anthony • **Back Beat Boogie** Harry James • **Cow Cow Boogie** Ella Mae Morse/Freddie Slack • **Bumble Boogie** Freddy Martin • **Chattanoogie Shoe Shine Boy** Phil Harris • **Carle Boogie** Frankie Carle • **Beat Me Daddy, Eight To The Bar** Will Bradley/Ray McKinley • **Sabre Dance Boogie** Freddy Martin • **Canadian Capers** Jack Fina • **Choo Choo Ch' Boogie** Louis Jordan • **Harmonica Boogie** Harmonicats • **Skaters Boogie** Jo Ann Castle • **Near You** Francis Craig • **Plantation Boogie** Lenny Dee • **Anitra's Boogie** Carmen Cavallaro • **Star Dust Boogie** Stan Kenton • **G.I. Jive** Johnny Mercer • **Booglie Wooglie Piggy** Glenn Miller • **Honky Tonk Train Blues** Meade Lux Lewis & more.

**BOOGIE WOOGIE HITS**
**#140715 2 Cassettes $19.95**
**#140723 2 CDs $24.95**

---

## Jane Froman

### *With A Song In My Heart*

A popular and beloved star of stage and radio for years. We're delighted to bring you the best of Jane Froman, including many of her vocal masterpieces not available for years.

**I'll Walk Alone • Wish You Were Here • I Believe • It's A Good Day • Tea For Two • Blue Moon • Embraceable You • That Old Feeling • My Blue Heaven • I'm Through With Love • Hands Across The Table • How About You? • Red Sails In The Sunset • Get Happy • Twilight Time • Home (When Shadows Fall) • Deep Purple • You'd Be So Nice To Come Home To • When Day Is Done • With A Song In My Heart**

**JANE FROMAN**
**#157917 Cassette $12.98**
**#157925 CD $16.98**

## Arthur Fiedler

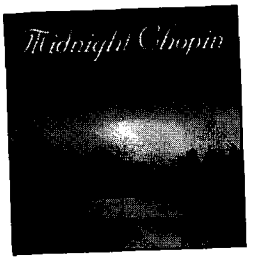
### "World's Greatest Marches"

Hear Arthur Fiedler and the wonderful Boston Pops Orchestra performing **22** of the greatest marches ever recorded, including John Philip Sousa's all-time favorites.

**The Stars And Stripes Forever • Semper Fidelis • Washington Post March • Pomp And Circumstance • March Of The Toys • Onward Christian Soldiers • March Of The Toreadors • Yankee Doodle • American Patrol March • Dixie • Strike Up The Band • The Thunder March • High School Cadets • Columbia, The Gem Of The Ocean • National Emblem March • The Yellow Rose Of Texas • Boston Commandery March • Seventy-six Trombones • El Capitan March • St. Louis Blues March • Whistle While You Work • Colonel Bogey March**

**ARTHUR FIEDLER**
**#102111 Cassette $9.98** **#102129 CD $14.98**

---




### The Piano Music of Romance!

## Midnight Chopin for Lovers

Turn down the lights, let the moonlight steal across your room, set yourself adrift and let your thoughts simply wander as the utterly beautiful piano music of **Frederic Chopin** floats in the air, embraces your senses, reaches into your heart.

*Listen to the romance!* These are the ageless melodies Chopin would improvise in the evenings to his *amoureuse*... they are the most beautiful, most romantic, of all his works. This beautiful treasury has been newly recorded on a glorious, vintage nine foot Steinway concert grand. We were very fortunate to have celebrated pianist **Sahan Arzruni** create this masterful album.

Sweet lyrical Nocturnes will transport you to a world long gone, with their rapturous colors and most intimate feelings. Lilting Waltzes will gently caress you with their soft mood of romance. And you'll relax to the world's most gorgeous Preludes, filled with love and yearning. From familiar melodies to truly beautiful music you may not have heard before, this is one album that will thrill every listener who loves the piano.

**MIDNIGHT CHOPIN**
**#143610 Cassette $12.98** **#143628 CD $16.98**

---

**National Review Music Service, Dept. 046813**
**215 Lexington Ave., New York, NY 10016**

**FREE SHIPPING**

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

| Item No. | Qty | Title | Total Price |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |

☐ Check Enclosed (payable to Good Music Record Co.) **Sub-Total**
Charge My: ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard **NY & MD Res. add sales tax**
☐ Discover/Novus **Postage and Handling** *FREE*
Signature _____ **Check or Charge Total**
Card No. _____ Exp. Date _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

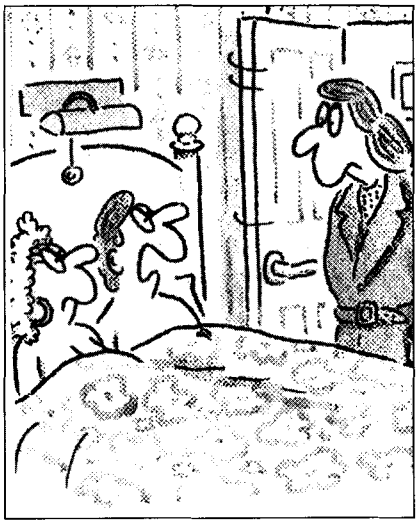
# hel!!!

"Okay, who gets the kosher meal?"

## *Queasy over Kosovo*

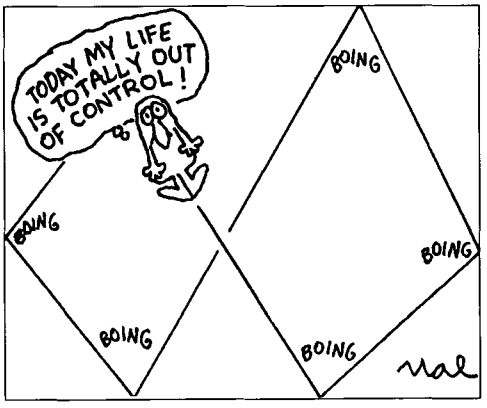
*Like Humpty Dumpty teetering*
*Before his whites began to cling*
*To mortar on the garden wall,*
*Along with his cholesterol,*
*The contact group begins to show*
*The early signs of vertigo.*

—W. H. VON DREELE



Matt-Rothco

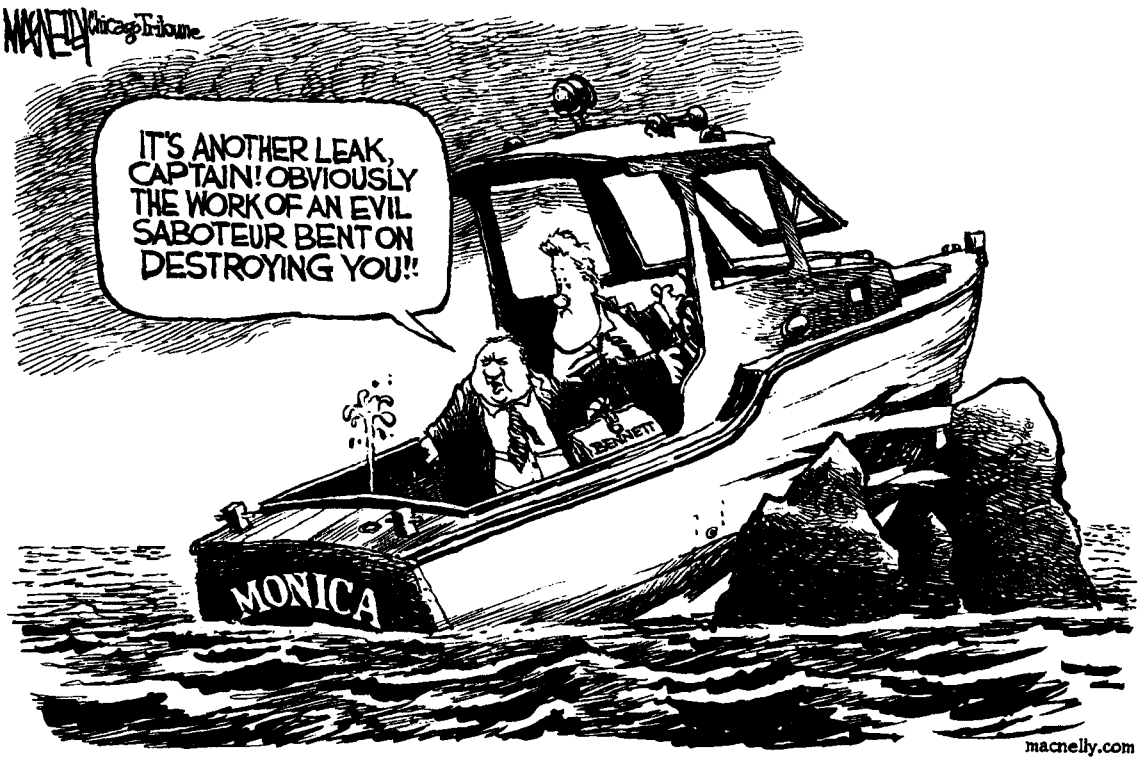
"Darling, I'm putting you in charge of restoring my reputation."




© Mal Ent., Inc.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


MACNELLY Chicago Tribune
IT'S ANOTHER LEAK, CAPTAIN! OBVIOUSLY THE WORK OF AN EVIL SABOTEUR BENT ON DESTROYING YOU!!
BENNETT
MONICA
macnelly.com

SENATOR "ALL THUMBS" HATCH SITS DOWN TO REPROGRAM THE U.S. COMPUTER MARKET.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

**FEDERAL DISTRICT COURT**
Little Rock, Ark.

# OFFICIAL TRANSCRIPT

Mr. Fisher: Please state your name.
Mr. Gore: Al.
Q: Your full name, please.
A: Al Gore.
Mr. Bennett: Your honor, I object. This witness is irrelevant.
Judge Wright: Irrelevant in what way, Mr. Bennett?
Mr. Bennett: In every way, your honor.
Mr. Gore: Hey, wait a minute . . .
Judge Wright: Counsel, I have taken this matter into consideration already. This witness is possibly relevant to the proceedings, and so I'm agreeing to this deposition.
Mr. Fisher: If I could, sir, I'd like to direct your attention to the afternoon of November 29, 1993. Did you see the President on that day, sir?
A: I see the President every day. I'm the most effective Vice President in the history of the country. Here, I keep a few of my clippings in my wallet. [Rustling.]
Q: Very impressive. Returning to that day, did you happen to see Kathleen Willey in or around the Oval Office?
A: You know what? I can't remember. Besides, I'm so rarely in that area.
Q: But sir, you're listed among the participants in a meeting that took place in that office, just moments after the President and Mrs. Willey were together.
Mr. Bennett: Objection! Your honor, must counsel use such lurid and off-color language as "together" and "meeting"? Move for dismissal.
Judge Wright: Motion denied.
Mr. Bennett: Your honor, if counsel is so interested in what Mr. Gore saw that day, why doesn't he just ask me? I have sworn depositions from all White House personnel. [Rustling.]
Judge Wright: Let me see those. [Rustling.] Mr. Bennett, you've just handed me about one hundred photocopies of the sentence, "I saw nothing." Continue, Mr. Vice President.
Mr. Gore: Well, now that my memory has been jogged, sure, I was in the office that day. I had an idea I wanted to discuss with him. See, I had a dream the previous night about showing a continuous, live satellite shot of the planet Earth on the Internet. I keep a dream journal, you see, which is a great way to tap into your creativity—
Mr. Bennett: Objection!
Judge Wright: On what grounds?
Mr. Bennett: Honestly? I'm bored.
Judge Wright: Sustained. Just answer the questions, Mr. Vice President.
Mr. Fisher: Did you go into the office, sir?
A: Yes.
Q: And what did you see?
Mr. Bennett: Objection!
Judge Wright: On what grounds, counsel?
Mr. Bennett: Give me a sec. [Rustling.] Um . . . the Vice President is clearly distraught. Move for a recess.
Judge Wright: Continue.
Mr. Fisher: What did you see, sir?
A: I saw the President and Mrs. Willey.
Q: Were they both standing?
A: Sort of.
Q: Were they embracing?
A: Sort of.
Mr. Bennett: Oh, Mr. Vice President, I forgot to tell you. The President told me he's thinking about that electric-car proposal of yours.
Mr. Gore: Really? What did he say?
Judge Wright: Continue, Mr. Fisher.
Mr. Bennett: One more thing. Are you still interested in going up in the next shuttle flight?
Mr. Gore: Boy! Am I ever!
Mr. Fisher: Please, Mr. Vice President. Just describe what you saw.
Mr. Gore: I saw what looked like the President fishing something out of Mrs. Willey's garment.
Q: Could you be a little bit more clear?
A: The President told me that he had dropped an ice cube in Mrs. Willey's blouse, which was why his hand was so far down into it. And also why Mrs. Willey was squirming around.
Q: Then what happened?
A: I told him that I believed him.
Q: What happened then?
A: The President hugged me.
Q: Was this an unwanted advance?
A: Not really. I never know how he feels about me.
Q: How long did the hug last?
A: A few seconds. Just long enough for him to whisper "Thanks" and "Give me ten minutes."
Q: Thank you, Mr. Vice President. No further questions.
A: I'd like to request a recess—it's morning now in Indonesia, and I have a few calls to make.
Judge Wright: Oh.
A: Can I use the phone in your office? I brought my credit card. [Laughter.]
END OF TRANSCRIPT


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

## Lawyer-Chic

JAMES BOWMAN

THE Washington novel used to be about politics and power, sex and scandal, elections and intrigue among capital insiders. If John Grisham's latest is anything to go by, the new Washington novel will be, as Washington itself increasingly is, about image. Since the invention of the music video, people seem to have stopped expecting popular entertainment to provide much in the way of plot or characterization or serious themes or, indeed, anything but a succession of stylish figures striking cool attitudes; and Grisham has brought the ethos of the music video to popular fiction. Not that Grisham himself should be blamed for this state of mind. It is everywhere in in Bill Clinton's Washington. Even Phyllis C. Richman, the restaurant reviewer for the *Washington Post*, writes

***The Street Lawyer, by John Grisham (Doubleday, 348 pp., $27.95)***

of a trendy local eatery: "Look around the dining room . . . and you'll guess you are seeing academics in D.C. for a conference, journalists not with sources but with gossip pals, lawyers who wouldn't work for corporations but only for public-interest groups."

Clearly, the hint that working for "public-interest groups" is a fashion statement is not something that originated with John Grisham. But Grisham —who, if he chose to, could count his novels toward his own *pro bono* résumé, since they amount to unpaid public-relations work for the Trial Lawyers Association—is making the most of this new lawyer-chic. His latest hero, Michael Brock, a 32-year-old associate in antitrust law with one of the biggest and most prestigious Washington firms, is briefly taken hostage by a homeless street person who calls himself "Mister." After managing to slip past security, Mister terrorizes a number of lawyers at Michael's firm with a firearm and what he pretends is dynamite strapped to his body; he is eventually shot and killed by a police SWAT team.

Michael was standing behind Mister when the bullet hit and, though unharmed, continues to be haunted by his captor's challenges to his fellow K Street fat cats. What has *he* done for the

Frederick H. Carlson

poor and the homeless? How can he continue to take home his six-figure salary and look forward to millions more after he makes partner, he muses, when the Gingrichite hordes are throwing more and more people into the streets every day? So he quits his cushy job and joins a store-front "street law" clinic supported by a charitable foundation and run by a big-hearted, street-smart black lawyer called Mordecai Green. Michael's new salary is only $30,000, with few benefits. But there is hope of better things to come. For on his way out, he stole a file from his old firm which implicates the fat cats in illegal activity that led to the deaths of a single mother and her four children. He and Mordecai happily set about suing his former colleagues for millions.

He also divorces his wife, who is not prepared to take the cut in pay (but whom he is tired of in any case), and he worries his bourgeois parents and greedy corporate-lawyer brother. He is very proud of himself. "I even looked the part," reflects the preening Michael as he sits in his new office; "my beard was more than a week old; my hair was slightly over the ears and showing the first signs of unkemptness; my khakis were wrinkled; my navy blazer was rumpled; my tie was loosened just so. The Nikes were still stylish but well-worn. A pair of horn-rimmed glasses, and I would have been the perfect public-interest lawyer." Michael is the kind of guy who is always catching little glimpses, like that one, of himself in the mirror of his own inspiring story, and this novel which tells his story often reads like a tour through somebody's scrapbook. "There I am helping a junkie kick her habit, feeding a homeless person, marching in a demonstration against uncaring government," he tells us proudly—and he (or Grisham) expects us to coo our approval.

Here, for example, Michael again watches himself as he sits in his new office: "If my dear brother Warner could've seen me sitting there on Sunday, shivering at my sad little desk, staring at the cracks in the plaster, locked in so that my potential clients couldn't mug me, he would've hurled insults so rich and colorful that I would've been compelled to write them down. I couldn't comprehend my parents' reaction . . ." But we know he really loves it. "Look at me!" he all but cries in narcissistic glee. "Aren't I the very devil for defying my boring parents and brother and their selfish, middle-class,

*Mr. Bowman is American Editor of the* Times Literary Supplement.

BooksNow
To order these books, (24hrs, 365 days) please call (800) 962-6651 (Ext. 3700) or visit us at http://www.booksnow.com



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

workaholic values?" He is even a little bit in awe of himself and the splendor of his sacrifice. As he contemplates going to work for Mordecai and the poor people, he tells us, "My soul kept me awake most of the night. Did I have the guts to walk away? Was I seriously considering taking a job which paid so little? I was literally saying good-bye to millions. The things and possessions I longed for would become fading memories."

*John Grisham's novels amount to unpaid public-relations work for the Trial Lawyers Association.*

Many's the tear that will doubtless roll down, glistening, from beneath the frames of designer sunglasses on beaches across America when those words are read. Yet neither Grisham nor his hero ever demonstrates the slightest shame at making the poor street people, none of whom is given any depth of character or individuality to speak of, mere props in the drama of this yuppie paragon. His creator obviously shares young Michael's high opinion of himself and believes, as Michael believes, that the street lawyer cuts quite a figure in his blazer and beard and fashionably well-worn Nikes. And he does, too. But it is not the figure of a hero of the mean streets so much as it is that of a conscience-stricken yuppie like his creator.

Small wonder that Grisham has made himself into a virtual brand name among novelists—the DKNY Dickens or the Starbucks Stevenson. Instead of leaving his own riches and working for the poor, he writes novels about impossibly noble characters who leave *their* riches and work for the poor—and so he makes more money! It's the perfect set-up for him, painlessly quieting his own qualms while he dominates the best-seller lists by exploiting the huge market of well-paid, college-educated professionals who read four books a year and would have everything if they could find a clear conscience for themselves at The Sharper Image. He tells them that everything is OK so long as they hold the right political opinions (the Republicans are repeatedly traduced here) and contribute something to the public-interest lawyers who live off the welfare state and occasionally get to make life miserable for the fat cats.

Moreover, Grisham has given his less fortunate legal brethren a dream of escape from the tedium and the nastiness and the work and the corruption of the legal profession. It is a dream not of life in wrinkled khaki trousers and Nike tennis shoes as a public-interest lawyer like that poor mug, Michael; it is a dream of life as a rich novelist like himself. Now every third lawyer and law student in the land has a partly completed novel or screenplay in his bottom drawer. And who can blame these young lawyers? They are under no illusions that their professional lives will be devoted to the righting of wrongs and the pursuit of justice; they know that their hopes of wealth from lawyering are tainted. Far better, then, to get rich by thinking up stories about imaginary lawyers—selfless and idealistic lawyers who do well by doing good. Not to mention that it is a lot easier work and you don't have to commute. □

# Hail to the Duds

FLORENCE KING

ASK not what a book about failed Presidents is doing with a title like *Star-Spangled Men.* Did the author mean "star-crossed"? We shall never know. It's as big a mystery as the true story of James Buchanan's broken engagement written by the bachelor Buchanan and sealed for posterity until he changed his mind and ordered it destroyed on his death.

***Star-Spangled Men: America's Ten Worst Presidents, by Nathan Miller (Scribner, 272 pp., $23)***

Nathan Miller, a former journalist and U.S. Senate staffer turned historian, presents his highly subjective picks "in order of their worstness, from the poor to the horrid," beginning with Jimmy Carter and ending with Richard Nixon.

Eight of Miller's picks made the cut for something they did, two for doing nothing. Of the latter, Calvin Coolidge was a whirling dervish compared to Benjamin Harrison (1889–93), the little sliver of a man who was the filling between the two Administrations of Grover Cleveland.

He was the grandson of our ninth President, William Henry Harrison, who died a month after his inauguration. Benjamin might as well have. Since he believed in the supremacy of Congress he had no agenda. After filling his Cabinet with tycoons he sat back and placidly oversaw the Gilded Age while Speaker Thomas "Czar" Reed ran the country from the House.

He won the Electoral College but lost the popular vote, and it's easy to see why. Standing a pot-bellied five-foot-six on spindly legs, "he resembled nothing so much as a medieval gnome." Teddy Roosevelt called him "a cold-blooded, narrow-minded, prejudiced, obstinate, timid old psalm-singing Indianapolis politician."

Calvin Coolidge won people's affection for being a "character" but Harrison lacked even an offbeat humanity. He had what one wag called "a handshake like a wilted petunia" that caused severe problems on the campaign trail. His speeches were good and aroused enthusiasm, but "people came away silent and downcast after shaking hands with him." He received Oval Office visitors while standing up with his watch in his hand, presenting such a fishlike demeanor that aides cautioned, "Don't think he means to insult you. It's just his way."

His Administration saw the passage of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, and the McKinley Tariff, and was the leading cause of the Panic of 1893 and the Populist movement, but Harrison himself was such a cipher that historians regularly write about these events without mentioning him. Nevins and Commager, the author reminds us, wrote a 685-page history of the United States in which his name never appears.

Franklin Pierce, a handsome, alcoholic mediocrity, did not, to put it mildly, inspire confidence. When the Democrats nominated him in 1852, his wife

*Miss King is the author of* The Florence King Reader *and other books.*



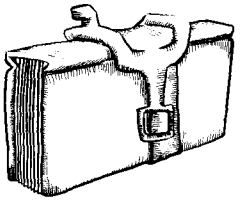
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fainted and his 11-year-old son, Bennie, wrote from school, "I hope he won't get elected." Richard Henry Dana exclaimed, "My God! A third-rate county politician." Nathaniel Hawthorne wrote, "Frank, I pity you—indeed I do, from the bottom of my heart," and a Yankeefied Greek chorus of New Hampshire neighbors cackled, "Frank Pierce is goin' to be spread durned thin."

The gregarious, backslapping Pierce had served in the House and Senate without distinction, making him an ideal presidential candidate at a time when the nation was unraveling over a single issue. Slavery, writes Miller, had destroyed all possibility of consensus, so that anyone strong enough to deal with it would only make things worse. "Only nonentities who angered no one could attract enough votes to win." That meant Pierce, an unknown Northern Democrat with Southern sympathies, or as Nathaniel Hawthorne put it in a campaign biography: "He is deep, deep, deep."

His Whig opponent was Gen. Winfield Scott, hero of the Mexican War, in which Pierce had disgraced himself by passing out in the saddle. Actually he had struck his groin on the pommel and fainted from pain but the Whigs taunted him as "the hero of many a well-fought *bottle*."

Two months before his inauguration, Pierce and his wife saw their only son crushed to death in a train derailment. Always emotionally fragile, Jane Pierce now went off the deep end. God had taken Bennie, she told her husband, so that he would have no family cares to distract him from his political responsibilities. As First Lady she stayed in her room writing letters to the dead Bennie, leaving shallow, shallow, shallow Pierce to spread sweet reason over a nation that was reading the just-published *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.



The unsteady drinker was confronted by the high-wire acts of the slavery question. The Missouri Compromise and the Compromise of 1850 had each created one free state and one slave state to maintain an exact representational balance. Now came the Kansas–Nebraska Act with a "popular sovereignty" provision that promised to topple the earlier compromises. Pierce signed the Act, which alienated the North and led a grateful South to abandon him because he could not now get enough Northern votes to win re-election.

The only President to be denied renomination by his party was followed by another Northern Democrat with Southern sympathies, James Buchanan, who performed the ultimate balancing act: the states, he said, had no constitutional right to secede, and the Federal Government had no constitutional right to stop them. Then he suppressed a Mormon insurrection in Utah, which must have come as a relief.

*Franklin Pierce, a handsome, alcoholic mediocrity, did not, to put it mildly, inspire confidence.*

Miller's opinions are as slanted as those in that great apocryphal work, *An Unbiased Account of the Civil War from the Southern Point of View*. His go in the other direction.

Andrew Johnson, rated a great President by Harry Truman, risked impeachment for a lenient version of Reconstruction, arguing that black suffrage should be left to the states, which alone had the right to establish voter qualifications. Insisting, "I am right. I know I am right. I am damned if I do not adhere to it," he vetoed Radical Republican attempts to extend federal power and urged Southern states to reject the Fourteenth Amendment.

Johnson asked to be buried wrapped in an American flag with a copy of the Constitution for a pillow, but Miller never misses a chance to emphasize his only sin. He tells us that Frederick Douglass detected in Johnson "a bitter contempt" for blacks, quotes his many racial slurs, and offers his own supercilious explanation: "Johnson held the deep-seated antipathy to blacks common to most Southern poor whites."

Johnson's reputation has fluctuated, Miller notes. Formerly revered as a healer and a strict constructionist,

> in the wake of the civil-rights revolution of the 1960s—called the Second Reconstruction—the pendulum has swung the other way. Now, Johnson is viewed as a white supremacist whose attempts to preserve the South as a "white man's country" undermined Reconstruction and condemned black Americans to a century of racism and repression. Because of this he belongs on my list of America's worst Presidents.

Because of this? Is Miller agreeing with the revised assessment or the pendulum? Hard to say in view of the odd outcroppings of political correctness found elsewhere: "Grant's greatest failure, however, was in protecting the rights of the former slaves, who had voted for him in overwhelming numbers." His *greatest* failure? Grant?

Furthermore, Coolidge's "record on control of the Ku Klux Klan and the appointment of blacks to office was bleak." Silent Cal had "strong views on race," Miller announces, and digs up an obscure Coolidge quote to prove it: "Biological laws show us that Nordics deteriorate when mixed with other races."

Non-racial quotes don't matter. He has Coolidge saying, "I do not care to run for President in 1928," instead of "I do not choose." And Jimmy Carter's "I'll never lie to you" becomes "I'll never tell a lie." He also contradicts himself, stating that Coolidge lacked "a wide-ranging mind," then revealing a few pages later that he translated Dante.

Finally, he ignores a solid achievement: the superb literary style of Grant's unghosted memoirs. Grant was such a born writer that his Gerald Ford–ish remark, "Venice would be a fine city if it were drained," had to be tongue-in-cheek. □

# Wages of Spin

RAMESH PONNURU

HOWARD Kurtz, the *Washington Post*'s media critic, had exclusive access to the White House press operation when he researched this book, and it shows. When he explains how White House press secretary Mike McCurry "felt" about some development, there is no doubt that the



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

statement is based on more than a reporter's conjecture. Kurtz sticks close to the facts, which is a good strategy when spin is the subject.

The revelation here that so far has garnered the most attention concerns President Clinton's bizarre remark in the spring of 1996 about a newly discovered mummy: "You know, if I were a single man, I might ask that mummy out." Kurtz reports that McCurry, annoyed with Clinton and hanging out with reporters, explained the attraction by making an unflattering reference to the President's usual sex partner. Since Kurtz published this remark, McCurry has explained that while he said something inappropriate, it was not about the First Lady—apparently unaware that this explanation raises further embarrassing questions.

***Spin Cycle: Inside the Clinton Propaganda Machine, by Howard Kurtz (Free Press, 324 pp., $25)***

In addition, we learn that McCurry hides a dark secret: he's a smoker, though he's trying to quit. We learn that the White House, at Mrs. Clinton's request, planned to issue a report trashing the *Post*'s main Whitewater reporter, Susan Schmidt, until McCurry quashed it. We learn that Clinton lawyer Robert Bennett wasn't just threatening to make Paula Jones's sexual history an issue, but described it "in graphic detail" to reporters.

Kurtz focuses on McCurry, White House special counsel Lanny Davis, and, to a lesser extent, senior advisor Rahm Emanuel and communications director Don Baer. The book often takes their perspective, which makes its tone rather sympathetic. Its accumulation of facts, on the other hand, is damning. The Clinton Administration, it appears, doesn't just obscure or bend or deny or suppress the truth, as its predecessors have sometimes done; it automatically and as a matter of course treats the truth as irrelevant.

While Clinton's spinners generally keep busier than those in previous Administrations, their methods are not, for the most part, new. Using access to reward positive and punish negative coverage, like providing an exclusive on some minor story to get a reporter to make it sound important, is a standard tool of the trade. Press secretaries learn in training school to avoid saying, "No comment," when doing so would suggest that they might be hiding something, and not to repeat reporters' allegations for attribution. Nor is it surprising to learn that Clinton has cultivated sympathetic center-left pundits like Jacob Weisberg, Gerald Seib, Jonathan Alter, and E. J. Dionne. (That's how they can churn out those here's-what-the-President-might-be-thinking articles.)

The Clintonites have developed other techniques into art forms. So, for instance, when a reporter appears close to breaking a story, they pre-emptively release the information—thus avoiding the impression of secretiveness and denying the reporter a scoop. Once damaging information has gotten out, the Clinton crew can dismiss it as "old news." Lanny Davis used this device frequently and effectively to undercut last year's Senate hearings on Clinton's fundraising abuses. This White House is also well known for reeling out the truth slowly so as to minimize its impact, an approach *Washington Post* editorialists have repeatedly condemned as "dribs and drabs."

***On some issues—like abortion and affirmative action—the Administration's stated policy isn't just the subject of spin, it is spin.***

Sometimes—more often than Kurtz lets on—the spinning gets cruder. At the height of Newt Gingrich's ethics troubles, Clinton expressed a high-minded wish for an end to the season of scandal, but that was of course misleading: he had no intention of asking his fellow Democrats to back off. McCurry is not above bullying a reporter off a story; nor are he and his colleagues reluctant to attack reporters for work they know to be true. Afterward, they might even apologize to the reporter in question: nothing personal, only business. And when none of the other expedients work, Clinton's people can always simply lie.

The spin usually works because it's relentless, the press is gullible, and McCurry is talented. He's funny. He understands Washington. (He knew, for instance, that reporters would dislike the 1997 budget deal because it was painless.) He is careful to make off-the-record concessions to reporters, and also not to know too much about Clinton's conduct. The point, anyway, is not actually to persuade reporters to accept the White House view but to make it impossible for them to pin anything on the President with certainty.

The Administration's frequent success with journalists has not diminished its suspicion of them. McCurry has the audacity to complain that the media reduce everything to "crass politics" and are never held accountable; the Clintons think the press has been unusually hostile to them. This perception reflects partly their penchant for self-pity, and partly the fact that there has been much to be hostile about. To paraphrase Kissinger: The fact that you're paranoid doesn't mean you're not guilty. The reason the Clintons' suspicion of the media is now reciprocated is that nothing they say can be taken at face value—that they are such inveterate spinners.

But on this point even Kurtz seems to fall for their spin. He leans rather heavily on the notion that there are "two conversations going on in the country: the daily chatter between reporters and political operatives over all the maneuvering and minutiae, and the President's attempt to talk to the masses about the real issues" through initiatives the press finds boring and petty. The trouble with this dichotomy is that these initiatives are all about "maneuvering and minutiae." That's why the White House does so many tracking polls, and why its consultants are celebrities. On some issues—like abortion and affirmative action—the Administration's stated policy isn't just the subject of spin, it *is* spin. "Safe, legal, and rare" and "Mend it, don't end it" have no reality beyond their rhetorical value in obscuring political vulnerabilities.

Some Administrations have scandals; this one *is* a scandal. Clinton's spin machine has obscured the truth, but it isn't perfect. It practically broke down for half a week after the Monica Lewinsky revelations. Washington has ever since been transfixed by the battle between Kenneth Starr and Bill Clinton—which is also the battle between reality and spin. □

*Mr. Ponnuru is* NR*'s national reporter.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# New Physics, New Theology

PATRICK GLYNN

THE West is entering a new chapter in its intellectual history, and John Polkinghorne is one of a handful of scientists who have already, so to speak, managed to read several pages ahead in the text. *Belief in God in an Age of Science* is no mere rehash of the tired science–religion controversy. Rather, this short volume, based on the Terry Lectures at Yale, explores the sweeping consequences of recent revolutions in science for the conflict between skepticism and faith. Those familiar with Polkinghorne—an eminent Cambridge University physicist who also happens to be an Anglican priest—will find here a distillation of earlier reflections as well as some new argumentation. The book is worth reading not only for its many insights, but also because it presages a new style of thinking that takes us beyond not only the modern but also the postmodern—a sophisticated, scientifically informed outlook which is nonetheless animated by a firm, rationally supported religious faith.

*Belief in God in an Age of Science, by John Polkinghorne (Yale, 150 pp., $18)*

As a physicist, Polkinghorne understands what many Western thinkers without scientific training have yet to realize: that recent science has shattered the materialistic foundations of the modern secular world view. Modern philosophy from Hobbes onward has taken its bearings from scientific mechanism/materialism, from a vision of the universe as mere "matter and motion." Yet lately physics and cosmology have raced forward, leaving this older outlook behind.

One key feature of the cosmos presented by the new physics is its God-friendliness. Newtonian mechanics ultimately led to the vision of a clockwork universe minus the Clockmaker. But the more scientists have probed cosmic evolution, the more they have realized, in Fred Hoyle's phrase, that the universe is a "put-up job." For human life to emerge, the blind mechanism of natural selection was not enough; on the contrary, the laws of physics had to be programmed minutely from the moment of the big bang. An infinitesimal change in any of the physical constants would have precluded life.

Present-day cosmology therefore leaves us with a choice: either the universe was created by an Intelligent Designer, or it is a massive and incredible coincidence the likes of which we can hardly imagine. Drawing on the philosopher John Leslie, Polkinghorne writes that there are two logical possibilities: "that God is real, and/or there are many and varied universes," the latter being invisible, unsubstantiated, and probably undetectable in principle. Polkinghorne does not belabor the point. While the God hypothesis is not "logically coercive," as he puts it, it easily stands up against the alternative.

Yet Polkinghorne's interest is not in proving God's existence but rather in showing how theology can "lay claim" to an "intellectually satisfying understanding," crucially supplementing science. He also seeks to show how theology and science, in dialogue, can inform and correct each other.

*Recent science has shattered the materialistic foundations of the modern secular world view.*

His target, in a sense, is the standard modern formulation of the science–religion relationship, which ceded to science the entire sphere of objective truth and—especially since Friedrich Schleiermacher—consigned theology increasingly to subjectivism and empty speculation. When it comes to science,

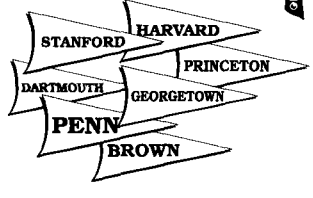
*Mr. Glynn, associate director of the George Washington University Institute for Communitarian Policy Studies, is the author of* God: The Evidence.


*Introducing...*

THE TEACHING COMPANY®

**Great Courses on Tape**

*Teaching that engages the mind.™*




The Teaching Company has developed a way to capture what you loved about university learning. Because with our Great Courses on Tape series you get the best teachers, the courses you choose, whenever and wherever you decide. They take you beyond just receiving information, to a point where you make the connection that lets you say, *"I really understand."*

Now you have access to the classes you may have missed in college, and to professors from America's best public and private universities. These teachers are knowledgeable, so there's depth to the subject matter they present. And, they're well-organized. They speak to you with energy, enthusiasm, and emotion. That's why most have been awarded "best teacher" honors by their students year after year.

***Each 6- to 30-hour course comes to you in a series of convenient 30- to 45-minute audio or video tapes, that are easy to fit into your schedule.***

There are a wide variety of interesting courses to choose from.

Call today for a free catalog. **1-800-903-0909**

THE TEACHING COMPANY®
7405 Alban Station Court
Suite A107
Springfield, VA 22150-2318
**Offer Code 5844**

Please send your FREE catalog of Great Courses on Tape to:

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY/STATE/ZIP_____




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Polkinghorne opposes naïve positivism. When it comes to theology, he insists on a greater concern for objective truth.

Science, Polkinghorne emphasizes, is not a value-free but rather a "value-laden" activity. Considerations such as the "beauty" and "elegance" of theory are "fundamental" to physics; scientific discourse depends on moral virtues such as "honesty" and "generosity of intellectual sharing."

But he resists any notion that reality is "socially constructed." Likewise, he reproves some theology for unconcern with simple truth in the literal sense of that term. He advocates what he calls "critical realism" and "bottom-up" theology, favoring quite orthodox and literal interpretations of key Christian mysteries, including the incarnation, redemption, and even (as he made clear in *The Faith of a Physicist*) the virgin birth.

Can the new physics beget a new theology? Polkinghorne offers a fascinating gloss on the question of free will and divine providence, noting that present-day physics—via quantum and chaos theories—has swept aside the old principle of determinism. His most eloquent observations concern what the laws of nature say about the problem of evil, suggesting that a divine "letting-be" is needed to underwrite human freedom:

> It is in the nature of dense snow fields that they will sometimes slip with the destructive force of an avalanche. It is in the nature of lions that they will seek their prey. . . . It is in the nature of humankind that sometimes people will act with selfless generosity but sometimes with murderous selfishness. That these things are so is not gratuitous or due to divine oversight or indifference. They are the necessary cost of a creation given by its Creator the freedom to be itself.

Theologians and scientists alike will find food for thought here, and philosophers should take heed—for John Polkinghorne's intermarriage of scientific and theological insight may well presage a new "post-secular" stage in Western thought. □

# For Richer or Poorer

STEVE SAILER

HUMAN uniformity is the bedrock assumption of polite discourse today. Yet, when it comes to making money, humanity may now be further from equality of results than ever before. According to David S. Landes, professor emeritus of both economics and history at Harvard, just 250 years ago the average standard of living in the wealthiest nation on earth, Great Britain, was only about five times higher than in the poorest nation. Today, the ratio between, say, Switzerland and Mozambique is something like 400 to 1. What happened?

***The Wealth and Poverty of Nations: Why Some Are So Rich and Some So Poor, by David S. Landes (Norton, 650 pp., $30)***

The end of the millennium seems to be conjuring up ultra-ambitious History of Everything tomes. Of these, *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations* may well be the most sensible and enjoyable.

It's not a page-turner. Landes describes not just the economic history but also the technological, political, military, religious, cultural, and geographic status of dozens of countries across almost one thousand years. Thanks also to his frequent halts to pummel other authors' bad ideas, he can't generate much narrative momentum. Instead, it's a wonderful page-flipper. Landes's gruff, Walter Matthauish persona, love of argument, and inexhaustible supply of colorful examples make the book perfect for dipping into at random.

Landes draws upon current scholarship's vast accumulation of detail, while contemptuously dismissing the "Europhobia" and other blinders that keep so many academics from recognizing the main patterns in their data. (As George Orwell noted, "To see what is in front of one's nose requires a constant struggle.") Landes denounces mainstream academia's dogma of absolute cultural relativism as "an attack on knowledge," because "distinctions are the stuff of understanding." Instead, he finds that the eighteenth-century Scottish Enlightenment, exemplified by Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*, provided a more accurate checklist for predicting what makes winners: "markets, markets, markets"; the security of private property; patriotism in defense of the homeland; trust extending beyond the family; rationalism, skepticism, and argument; curiosity about other cultures; and an intense work ethic, to name a few.

Like Thomas Sowell, Landes is unusual among modern economists in preferring words to equations. Therefore, he doesn't underestimate the hard-to-quantify but cumulatively huge impact of cultural differences. For example, he notes that everybody "comments on the quality of the [East Asian] workforce, but equally takes it somehow for granted." Digging deeper, Landes attributes the supremacy of the Japanese and other East Asians in micro-assembly to the "exceptional manual dexterity that comes with eating with chopsticks." Also like Sowell, he tries to avoid biological explanations for cultural disparities by emphasizing "nature's inequalities" in geography and weather: e.g., cold climates encourage hard work, warm climates leisure. (Granted, this isn't exactly news to Club Med's management, but for a Harvard professor, these are brave words, indeed.)

*Sexual specialization keeps spontaneously re-emerging in new industries like software and drug dealing, revealing its genetic roots.*

Still, Landes's fear of biological distinctions causes his most glaring mistake: he insists that "gender equality" is a necessity for growth (rather than an admirable side effect). Males can't "think themselves superior by biology, without dulling [their] ambition." This wasn't true in Manchester in 1770, Pittsburgh in 1870, or Nagoya in 1970. And it's definitely not true in Silicon Valley in 1998, where female executives are so rare that they have formed a support group, "Babes in Boyland." Ironically, Landes here forgets the famous lesson on page 1 of Adam Smith's book: the division of labor is the prime creator of wealth. And the oldest division of

*Mr. Sailer (steveslr@aol.com) is a businessman and writer.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

labor is by sex, as in hunter– gatherer cultures. Today, sexual specialization keeps spontaneously re-emerging in new industries like software and drug dealing, revealing its genetic roots.

But biological differences extend beyond sex to race. For example, Landes fails to ask: *Why* were East Asians able and inclined to adopt chopsticks in the first place? Could it be because they already tended to have small, nimble fingers? He claims that stressing the impact of geographical differences is the anti-racist alternative to admitting the importance of human biodiversity, but that's a shallow dichotomy. The more powerful the environmental diversity, the more natural selection would adapt people to local conditions.

Interestingly, many of the most striking racial differences can be thought of as resembling faint sexual differences. For example, contrast the triumph of Japanese manufacturing with Japan's near-total failure in the brutally competitive global market for celebrities. (A recent survey revealed that Americans believe the most famous living Japanese is Bruce Lee, a dead Chinese guy.) It's the mirror image of African-Americans' undistinguished technological achievements versus their outstanding performance in producing media personalities.

Why? Japanese talents extend far beyond chopstick-handling to a set of extremely masculine intellectual skills. Tests show they tend to excel at objective abilities like mathematics and mentally manipulating 3-D objects through "single-tasking" (focusing deeply upon one impersonal logical problem). Blacks, on the other hand, are often better in typically feminine, more subjective cerebral areas like verbalization, emotional intuition and expression, sense of rhythm, sense of style, improvisation, situational awareness, and mental multitasking. Michael Jordan's brain, for instance, enables him to anticipate his opponent's every move while simultaneously demoralizing him with nonstop trash-talking. (Try it sometime. It's not easy.)

Next, think about physical characteristics and emotional personality traits. Here the races are arrayed in the opposite order. Blacks tend to display more of typically male qualities like muscularity, aggressiveness, self-esteem, need for dominance, and impulsiveness. In contrast, the Japanese economy benefits from a male workforce endowed with more typically feminine virtues like small fingers and fine motor skills, cooperativeness, humility, loyalty, long-term orientation, diligence, and carefulness. Combined with their people's masculine mental skills, these traits make Japanese companies powerhouses at exporting superbly engineered machinery.

Compared to Japanese organizations, black communities tend to be physically and psychologically masculine, sometimes to the point of disorderliness. A relatively high percentage of black men achieve fame by possessing charismatically masculine looks and personalities, without the nerdishness linked with Dilbert-style male intellectual skills.

Like astronomer Tycho Brahe's attempt at a compromise between the theories of Ptolemy and Copernicus, Landes's notion that geography influences culture but not genes may someday be seen as a way station between the twentieth-century social scientist's flat-earthish insistence that nothing affects culture except culture, and the twenty-first century's exploration of the fascinating interactions among environment, genes, and culture. □

## *CITY DESK*

# The Art Proletariat

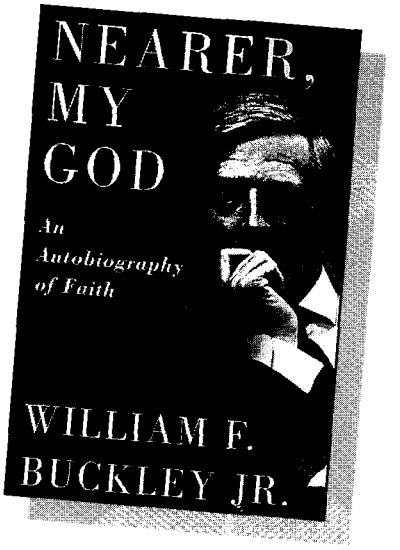
RICHARD BROOKHISER

UNION Square used to be the haunt of labor unions (although, as Michael Harrington liked to say, they couldn't organize the Union Square subway station). Now it is the haunt of the art proletariat.

The evolution of this neighborhood is adumbrated in the history of the neoclassical building that overlooks the square's northeast corner. It was built in

*Mr. Brookhiser is an* NR *senior editor*


A Selection of the Book-of-the-Month Club. Chosen as one of the Best Books of 1997 by *Publishers Weekly*.




*Seventh Printing*
*Published by Doubleday*

**What really happened at Waco?**

Oscar Nominee
Best Documentary
1997

**Waco:**
**The Rules of Engagement**

"Two thumbs up!"
—Siskel & Ebert

**Available Now!** Video–136 min.
$24.95 postpaid
Calif. residents add sales tax

**call 800-326-0996**
LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS
Dept. WNR



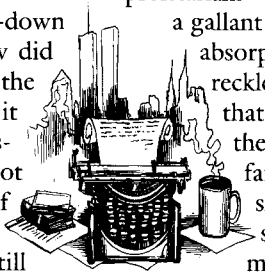

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1928 as the headquarters of Tammany Hall, the practical expression of workingmen's power. The machine had picked a bad time to make a sumptuous investment, though, and Tammany soon gave way to a local of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (more worker solidarity, less power). Now it houses the New York Film Academy. When the weather gets warm, the art laborers emerge into the park, in teams of three, working tripoded black movie cameras old enough to have been used by their parents. They set up around the plinth of the Abraham Lincoln statue, filming each other, or passersby. I have seen as many as four crews at once, filming in different directions. (If the Kennedy motorcade had passed that way, we wouldn't have needed a Warren Commission.) Today, *reportage*; tomorrow, Sundance.

How much money do they pay for the privilege of attending the film school? I think about that sometimes, but not for long. It is a painful thought. There are many sources of pain in my neighborhood. One famous actors' studio sits on my route to the subway station. Every time I pass it, no matter what the weather, there is a crowd of young hopefuls, taking a cigarette break on the sidewalk. I have never seen the same hopeful twice. They are chewed up and spat out, like infantry at Verdun, and there are always more to fill the ranks. To earn money, they work in restaurants and coffee houses, where I overhear them, "building a character." (The last I overheard being built was a turn-of-the-century Russian Jewish prostitute.) They perform in unfinished basements in places like Ludlow Street, which probably were used by Russian Jewish prostitutes at the turn of the century, but are now sanctified in the service of art. I attended one such performance—a play about brother–sister incest and Thatcherism. My friend in the cast (no one but friends sees these things) was not one of the happy couple, but a minor character they meet in a disco whose big line was a scream. Of course, my friend screamed for free; maybe an agent would come and hear her. The only notice she ever got was a mention as a great waitress in a restaurant review in the *New York Times*.

*The language of Rupert Murdoch's dreams is fashioned in basements on Ludlow Street.*

And to lubricate this drudgery, the hopeful shell out money for frauds offering to teach some hand-me-down fragment of Stanislavsky. (How did David Garrick manage, before the Method?) If I show skepticism, it is because I belong to a profession where training still does not count for much. You learn, if you can, on the job, which, though it pays peanuts, is still more than the negative income of tuition.



I have known one art proletarian who was poised to make it. Beneath a shock of red hair, he had a face bright, chiseled, and American as a buffalo nickel. He of course worked as a waiter, but (true to the fairy tale) customers who saw him asked him to appear in photo shoots and plays. He once confided to me and my wife that this had happened. "*Never* tell your co-workers," we advised him. We saw him in a production of *Salomé*. I go to plays infrequently, yet I have managed to see this slab of fruitcake twice in five years. Two hundred years ago, what would a playgoer like myself have seen more than once? Addison's *Cato*? We have gone from, "What pity is it/That we can die but once to serve our country!" to "I have onyxes like the eyeballs of a dead woman." Our waiter was as cast against type as Truman Capote in *Father Knows Best*. The irony of his success is that he ultimately decided that the art life in the big city was not for him, and went back to eastern Pennsylvania to be a tree farmer.

I feel no skepticism toward the art proletarians—only admiration. They show a gallant service to an ideal, a proud absorption in their own egos, a reckless disregard of the odds that marks all heroes. And if they resist the temptation to farm trees, and if lightning should strike and they do succeed, then they rule our minds. Who has more power than they do? Bill Gates? Rupert Murdoch? They sit on their hoards, tinkering with lines of code or satellites. But when they need "content," they must turn to former proletarians. Murdoch can put his political stamp on a handful of his properties—but what does *The Simpsons* reflect of his world view? The language of his dreams is fashioned in basements on Ludlow Street, and a dozen other bohemias from here to Los Angeles.

Except for those rare moments when the proletarians discover that they have misled themselves. "Everyone" thought "everyone" liked fragmentation, quick-cutting, sleight of mind—and then *Titanic*, a stolid three-hour romance with a beginning, a middle, and an end straight out of Aristotle, earns a billion dollars. The art proletarians still have something to learn, if they could stop learning the Method long enough. □

## *FILM*

# Benton in Clover, Coens in Bilge

JOHN SIMON

SOME years ago Robert Benton, Richard Russo, and Paul Newman came up with a winner, *Nobody's Fool*, and here they are with another one, ***Twilight***, directed by Benton, co-written by him and Russo, and again starring Newman. This time, though, it's a very different story, about rich, amoral people in Los Angeles, part detective thriller, part romantic triangle (sort of), part chronicle of complicated friendships and betrayals, a way-we-live-now morality tale.

Adroitly mixed, these elements coexist remarkably. At the center is Harry Ross (Newman), once a cop, then a private eye, who manages to track down, in the film's prologue, the runaway daughter of wealthy Jack and Catherine Ames (Gene Hackman and Susan Sarandon). The underage girl, Mel (Reese Witherspoon), is living it up in Puerto Vallarta

*Mr. Simon is* NR*'s film critic.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with a boyfriend, Jeff (Liev Schreiber), until Harry comes to fetch her home. Jeff tries to stop him, there's a fracas, and Mel picks up a gun dropped by Harry and shoots him in the leg.

A couple of years later, Harry has given up detective work and is living with the Ameses as a handyman, apparently doing nothing much besides playing cards with Jack and yearning for Catherine. Jack is ill, diagnosed as having a maximum of ten months to live. He and Catherine fell in love when she, a movie actress, was married to a man who soon died somewhat mysteriously, perhaps a suicide. His body was never found. Catherine and Jack married and lived happily until illness struck.

Strange things start happening as Jack asks Harry to deliver a money package to a certain Gloria Lamar. You don't have to be a movie buff to guess that anyone called Gloria Lamar is bad news, and that delivering a small brown package spells black calamity. And here, though I hate doing this to you, I must stop giving away plot.

But I can tell you much else. First, that *Twilight*, like *L. A. Confidential*, is a rare crime story that makes sense, its parts not only fitting together but also understandable to non-experts at solving movie mysteries. Yet one does not guess what comes next, and legitimate surprises jostle one another. There is no Quentin Tarantino cuteness, Stephen King horror, or (fill in the name) overcomplication and confusion. It all feels as natural as a movie about a boy and his dog. Actually, more so.

Though the characters are not presented fully in the round, enough is there in the aptly sophisticated dialogue and telling observation to elicit your intensely concerned involvement. And there are other characters of interest. There is Verna (Stockard Channing), a police lieutenant with whom Harry once had an affair, now investigating a murder in which he is somehow implicated. There is Reuben (Giancarlo Esposito), an amiably bumbling young Hispanic, who sometimes assists Harry, with limited usefulness. There is Raymond (James Garner), a tough old friend of both Jack's and Harry's, who . . . but I'm getting too discursive again.

*Twilight* is an apt title. Most of the action takes place late in the day or at night, or in interiors elegantly underlit. More to the point, the moral chiaroscuro: the lovely but hard Catherine, the jovial but devious Jack, the stalwart but fallible Harry, the mixed-up Mel, the ambivalent Verna, and so on. These incertitudes are marvelously caught by Piotr Sobocinski's sublime camera work. The film looks ineffably sumptuous without the least glossiness, glitziness, or apparent studiedness. Nothing obstructs the joyously colorful variety of things, obscures that numinous or transcendent something in a bit of nature, furniture, or architecture. Or in the people: their lived-in faces and bodies, their touching imperfections and compelling asymmetries.

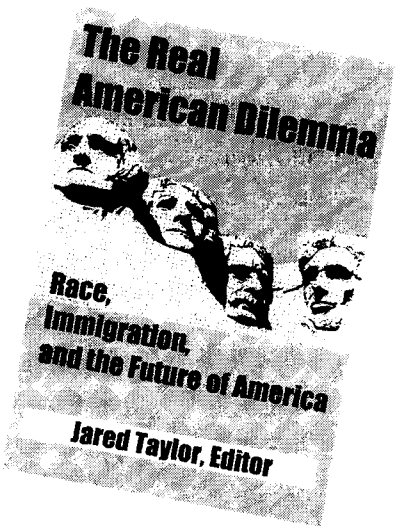
Benton's direction is ungimmicky yet never obvious: camera angles, movements, compositions are a little more than ordinary but less than *recherché*. The pacing is uncannily right, neither hurried nor slack. Despite necessary foreshortening, the film's time feels real. And you believe the actors. Doubts have been voiced about the age differences between Miss Sarandon and her men. But nothing feels unnatural. Hackman has one of those grittily eloquent faces, unbeautiful but solidly, agelessly virile. Newman, formerly rather too handsome, has aged into graceful credibility: bearable good looks, like those of a very fine used car. And Miss Sarandon, whose loveliness was always a bit overripe, has receded into just ripeness. Neither young nor old, neither flawlessly beautiful nor tangibly imperfect, she is earthily feminine but with a hint of hidden fragility—infinitely desirable.

*Some years ago Robert Benton, Richard Russo, and Paul Newman came up with a winner, and here they are with another one.*

All three act sovereignly; so, too, the supporting cast—in particular Miss Channing of the all-encompassing gaze—is always on the mark. Even Elmer Bernstein's music, like Joseph G. Aulisi's costumes, remains smartly inconspicuous. *Twilight* knows exactly what it is about but, best of all, knows it with exemplary unself-consciousness.

■ Not so ***The Big Lebowski***, in which

*(Continues on page 61)*


**Why is race the problem that will not go away?**

Thoughtful, utterly candid commentary by:

**Samuel Francis, Philippe Rushton, Michael Levin, Jared Taylor,** and others not afraid of being called "racist."

Price: $9.95 (softcover)
To order, call: (800) 352-4843

*The Amazing Walk-Behind Brush Cutter!*

**NEW DR® FIELD and BRUSH MOWER**

**CLEARS & MAINTAINS** meadows, pastures, woodlots, wooded and rough non-lawn areas with ease. **CUTS** tall grass, weeds, brambles, tough brush and even hardwood saplings up to 1" thick.

**CHOPS/MULCHES** most everything it cuts. Leaves NO TANGLE of brush to pick up like hand-held brushcutters and sicklebar mowers.

*Perfect for low-maintenance wildflower meadows, European-style woodlots,* walking paths, or any area you only want to mow once a month or once a season!

- *Up to 14 HP*
- *4 Speeds*
- *Power Reverse*

*Mows up to 1 acre per hour!*

TOLL FREE 1(800) 446-8746

Pat. Pend.

Please mail this coupon **TODAY** for complete **FREE DETAILS** of the **DR® FIELD and BRUSH MOWER** including prices, specifications, and "Off-Season" Savings now in effect. There is no obligation.

Name _____ NR

Address _____

City _____ State _____ ZIP _____

To: **COUNTRY HOME PRODUCTS®**, Dept. 3761F
Meigs Road, P.O. Box 25, Vergennes, VT 05491

©1998 CHP, Inc.




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

## Educational Opportunities

THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION that is biblical, classical, Reformed, and scholarly. M.Div., M.Rel., M.A., D.Min. Knox Theological Seminary, Fort Lauderdale and Colorado Springs. Call 800-344-5669 for more information.

## Hotels


HOTEL Bedford

Your Key To New York

118 E. 40th Street, New York, NY 10016

Between Park and Lexington Avenues...on Manhattan's fashionable East Side. Ideally located for business, Fifth Avenue Shops, Entertainment and Fine Dining.

Special National Review Rates

Reservations: 800-221-6881 (USA & Canada)

FAX (212) 697-1093


## Financial

FREE CASH GRANTS! College. Scholarships. Business. Medical bills. Never Repay. Toll Free: 800-218-9000, Ext. G-3013.

## Real Estate

GOV'T FORECLOSED HOMES for pennies on the $1. Delinquent Tax, Repos, REOs. Your Area. Toll Free: 800-218-9000, Ext. H-3013 for current listings.

## Literary


"Lincoln Speaks" Letters, Speeches, Essays

A limited collector's edition anthology.

Special printing limited to 1000 numbered copies.

$19.95 includes postage, handling, and our full guarantee. We will refund your full purchase price by return mail if you are unsatisfied for any reason. $19.95 payable to: Mediability, 1810 Summit Pointe Way, Atlanta, GA 30329, ph 404 320-0303


THERE WAS MORE TO IT than told. Learn the intent/philosphies underlying the documents of VCII. A "MUST-READ" to understand today's crisis. *In the Murky Waters of Vatican II*, Atila Guimarães. $20, TRADITION IN ACTION, Box 227414, Dallas, Tex. 75222-7414.


DO YOU HAVE A BOOK TO PUBLISH?

Pentland Press, Inc.

USA • ENGLAND • SCOTLAND

Send manuscript for evaluation. Co-operative publisher can arrange the editing, design, publication, promotion, warehousing and distribution of your book.

5124 Bur Oak Circle, Raleigh, NC 27612

1-800-948-2786


UNRAVEL A MYSTERY! Armchair Detectives call for free catalogue of vintage to 70s mystery books. E-mail: hil@mindspring.com or phone: 717-532-8213.


NEW AUTHORS

PUBLISH YOUR WORK

*All subjects considered:*

Fiction, Biography, Poetry, Religion, Children's

AUTHORS WORLDWIDE INVITED

*Write, or send your manuscript to:*

MINERVA PRESS

2 OLD BROMPTON ROAD, LONDON SW 7 3DQ, ENGLAND


GOOD USED BOOKS—wide variety, intelligent selection. Libraries buy regularly; you can too. History, fiction, social science, literature, miscellaneous subjects. Send $2 for listings of 25,000 titles. Editions, Desk NR, Boiceville, N.Y. 12412. www.nleditions.com

NONFICTION PAPERBACK: *Up From Total Quality Management*. 800-882-3273.

## For Sale

SEIZED CARS FROM $175. Porsches, Cadillacs, Chevys, BMWs, Corvettes. Also Jeeps, 4WDs. Your area. Toll Free: 800-218-9000, Ext. A-3013 for current listings.

## Business Opportunities

FRANCHISE YOUR BUSINESS. Lowest prices, best results. WWW.FranchisesThatSell.Com 800-365-4189.

FAMOUS MILLIONAIRE-MAKER reveals exciting way to earn $50-150K/year from home! 24-hour message. 216-491-2115.

CAREER BURNOUT? Home health business, serious income. Free information: 800-925-2494.

## Websites

ASSET PROTECTION, OFFSHORE HAVENS, Swiss annuities and much more at http://www.cyberhaven.com/

## T-Shirts & Bumper Stickers

$13.95 ea. — (2 or more)

15.95 for one (& 2.50 S&H per shirt)

Add 1.00 for sizes XXL

SEND CHECK OR MONEY ORDER TO:

E.I.E.I.O., Ink - 5418 Hwy. 6 N.

Houston, TX 77084 — Dealer inquiries welcome.

Allow 3 to 4 wks for delivery. TX - add sales tax.


"SELF-WILL RUN RIOT"—What is it? Get free bumper stickers concerning political sobriety. Dave Polewka, Box 3652, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27515-3652.

"CHARACTER MATTERS": Bumper sticker with a clear, timely message. $3 or 4/$10. Check/MO: SlickerStickers, 2440 Home Acre Dr., Columbus, Ohio 43231.

## Friendship, Etc.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS, linked nationally since 1970. P. O. Box 117, Gradyville, Pa. 19039. 800-773-3437 or sbl@compuserve.com

MEET WOMEN WORLDWIDE FOR LOVE AND MARRIAGE. World's #1 Correspondence Service since 1974! Complimentary 32-page photo magazine: Cherry Blossoms, P. O. Box 190-NR, Kapaau, Hawaii 96755. 800-322-3267 (Ext. 48). And at: www.blossoms.com/ad48.html cherry@blossoms.com.

BRITISH LADIES & GENTLEMEN seek romance & marriage with Americans—all ages! English Rose Introductions—Tel: 011-44-1843-863322/Fax: 011-44-1843-863346 (24 hrs.)!

ASIAN BEAUTIES! Worldwide! Romance, Lifemates! P.I.C., Box 461873-NR, Los Angeles, Calif. 90046. 213-650-1994.

MEET LATIN LADIES! Mexico-South America. Photo catalogues, videos, tours. Free fotobrochures! T.L.C., P. O. Box 924994-NR, Houston, Texas 77292-4994. 713-896-9224.

ASIAN WOMEN Desire Marriage! Established 1984! Free Photobrochure! SUNSHINE INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENCE, P. O. Box 5500-FH, Kailua-Kona, Hawaii 96745-5500. 808-325-7707. http://sunshine-girls.com

RUSSIAN LADIES, truly beautiful, educated, seek romance! Exciting tours, videos. Free color photocatalog. Euro206, P. O. Box 888851, Atlanta, Ga. 30356. 770-458-0909.

CORRESPOND WITH SINCERE, EDUCATED SINGLES WORLDWIDE! Scanna International, P. O. Box 671927, Dept. NR, Marietta, Georgia 30006. 770-579-4702. On the Web: http://www.scanna.com

JAPANESE WOMEN! 110 Pacific, #208JW, San Francisco, Calif. 94111. 816-942-1668.

## Personal

PROVERBS 18:22 and 19:14. CHRISTIAN WHITE MALE, never married, chaste, attractive, computer professional, Philadelphia, Pa., area, 42 but looks younger, 6', 185 lbs., sense of humor, conservative, loyal, seeks a Christian white female trying to live her faith, never married and no children, pretty, 25–36, and reasonably trim. Someone who wants children and would put them before her job/career. Note and photo preferred. Will reciprocate with photo if desired. Or E-mail me: CHRSWM@AOL.COM. NR Box 2392.

ANGEL SOUGHT, between 18 and 25, by the Flying Dutchman, who has disconsolatedly wandered for ages looking to be redeemed by *the woman true and fair*, who believes that her spiritual and physical beauty can only be preserved by adherence to Plato's *Laws*, Book VIII, verses 838–840 and the Old Testament. NR Box 2393.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SINGLE WHITE MALE, employed professional. Likes working out, sharp opinions, good food and fresh air. Christian. Seeks Mandarin lady, 27–35, educated, with Asian values and American culture, working towards permanent relationship. New England area. Picture appreciated. NR Box 2390.

**CLASSIFIED INFORMATION**

**Rates:** $4.50 per word (10-word minimum). Phone number, zip code, all permitted abbreviations (P. O. Box, S.A.S.E., etc.) count as one word.

**Discounts:** 4 times, $4.00 per word; 6 times, $3.75 per word; 8 or more times, $3.50 per word.

**Display Ads:** Minimum 1-inch, maximum 9 inches (vertical). Width 2 1/4 inches. One time, $225 per column inch; 4 times, $200 per column inch; 8 times, $185 per column inch; 10 or more times, $175 per column inch. Camera-ready art (to size) must be provided. Display rates apply to Classified section only.

**NR Box Numbers:** $10 additional (one-time only charge). When responding to an NR Box number, Address: NR Box ____, c/o Tony Savage, *NATIONAL REVIEW*, 215 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. Letters will be forwarded by 1st class mail.

**To Order:** Full payment in advance by check, money order (payable to *NATIONAL REVIEW*), MasterCard, or Visa (include expiration date). Address: Tony Savage, *NATIONAL REVIEW*, 215 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. FAX: 212-696-0340. Tel. 212-679-7330

**Deadlines:** Every other Tuesday (approx. 16 days before the magazine is printed). Upcoming deadlines: March 31st; April 14th & 28th; May 12th.

**Restrictions:** *NR* may reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason, without comment. Such rejections are almost always based on our interpretation of common decency and good taste. Partisan political viewpoints expressed in connection with specific goods or services are the sole responsibility of the advertiser, and are not necessarily a reflection of *NR*'s editorial position. We do not accept ads for 900 numbers, and there are no agency commissions for the classifieds.

**NR REPRINTS AVAILABLE**

"The War On Drugs Is Lost" ($1.70)
"NR's 40th Anniversary Issue" ($2.95)
"The Real Reagan Record" ($2.95)
"To Be a Pilgrim—WFB's Visit to Lourdes" ($1)
"The 100 Best Conservative Movies" ($1.50)
(Please add 50 cents for shipping and handling.)
Bulk prices available for all upon request.
Send to:
*NATIONAL REVIEW*
215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016
Specify selection.

**SIMON**

(Continued from page 59)

everything is at best crass, at worst odious. The work of the Coen brothers, exemplars of undeserved success and perpetrators of some of cinema's worst atrocities, *Lebowski*—coming after *Fargo*, which, such as it is, was their best work—hurtles back into the beastliness of *Barton Fink* and *The Hudsucker Proxy*.

There are two Jeff Lebowskis. One is a self-made nabob, the Big Lebowski, who lost his legs in Vietnam, and rules his empire from a wheelchair. Old (one wonders whether he wasn't past serving in Vietnam), he has a young daughter, Maude, who has left him, and an even younger trophy wife, the sluttish Bunny. The other Jeff Lebowski (Jeff Bridges, slumming) is an overgrown hippie stuck in the Seventies and a ramshackle pad, who insists on being called the Dude. The story is told by the Stranger, a jerk in cowboy gear (*he* ought to be the Dude) who pops up randomly and quite unbelievably.

It begins when a couple of thugs beat up the Dude, ransack his place, and pee on his beloved rug, having mistaken him for the Big Lebowski. Since not even an idiot would mistake this derelict for a millionaire, the scene is utter nonsense. Next, the Dude has no difficulty getting to see the Big L., demanding restitution for his cheap rug, and, when refused, leaving with the best Persian in the house. More nonsense.

Much of the film is spent in a bowling alley with the Dude's pals: the huge, arrogantly violent, and stupid Vietnam vet Walter (John Goodman, unfunny and intolerable), and the ratty sidekick (Steve Buscemi), whom he keeps cutting off by way of Coen humor. The Big L., for no good reason, picks the Dude to deliver ransom money for his wife, who may or may not have been kidnapped, as proof of which he is sent a severed toe that may or may not be hers. From this evolves what may or may not be a plot, most of which I'll spare you.

Three sets of thugs are after the Dude and his chums. There are the urinators, who belong to one Treehorn (Ben Gazzara in a ludicrous role), another pair who belong to the unsavory Maude Lebowski (Julianne Moore in a ludicrous wig and accent), and a trio of neo-Nazis in black leather who call themselves the Nihilists. They drop a ferret into the (improbably) bathing Dude's tub, and the animal viciously bites him. This ferret is absurdly referred to as a marmot, though neither beast bites under water. Maude picks the Dude to impregnate her. His gay landlord picks him as arbiter of his goony dance recitals. A young teen is taken for the master criminal behind . . . but why go on? If this doesn't persuade you that Joel and Ethan Coen are repellent charlatans, go see the movie. And if that doesn't do the trick, let's have no further truck with each other. □

# *BOOKS IN BRIEF*

*American Abundance: The New Economic and Moral Prosperity, by Lawrence A. Kudlow (Forbes/American Heritage, 179 pp., $22.95)*

LARRY Kudlow is bullish on Bill Clinton. Yes, this brash free-market economist, *NR* contributing editor, and onetime Reagan advisor gives President Clinton credit for America's current boom. However, he notes, the prosperity was induced by President Reagan, and it continues because, since the 1993 tax hike, Clinton has stayed out of the way—supporting free trade, a strong dollar, and Alan Greenspan's inflation-fighting efforts. In this anthology, Kudlow gloats over the emergence of supply-side as the new economic orthodoxy. He is, after all, among its most trenchant champions: "You tax something, you get less of it," he says—from cigarettes to income. Kudlow has the ability to crystallize complex theories into information that the 125 million Americans who are invested in the stock market can understand and use. He also places economics into a political and moral context: e.g., he observes that the nation's affluence has reduced crime and welfare dependency. Having a job makes people more likely to behave themselves (though it hasn't worked for Bill Clinton).

—GEOFFREY MORRIS

*Written on the Heart: The Case for Natural Law, by J. Budziszewski (InterVarsity Press, 240 pp., $14.99)*

THIS lively volume never explains which laws are natural. That is a serious problem, given the book's subtitle, but it's not a fatal one. For in the end Budziszewski serves nobly as a philosophical matchmaker, explaining how and where the natural-law philosophies of a variety of thinkers overlap and contradict. He provides useful summaries of Aristotle, Locke, and Mill. Especially notable is his sparkling discussion of Aquinas, which delineates the ambitious medieval task of "synthesizing philosophy with the Christian faith." Budziszewski also focuses on present-day philosophers; he challenges, above all, James Q. Wilson's proposition that moral sentiments are somehow more important than moral rules. The author provocatively asks how Wilson knows which sentiments are "moral" if the only tool he has for judging is sentiment itself. One of many good questions.

—JASON BERTSCH



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# ON THE RIGHT / Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

## The Repentance Of David Brock

NEW YORK, MARCH 13

Much attention has lately been given to author David Brock. For those who are happily unaware, the sequence is as follows.

David Brock, a young investigative reporter, published an article in *The American Spectator* which had the greatest catalytic effect since someone thought to add C squared to the formula E equals M. Briefly, Brock wrote about several Arkansas state troopers who reported to him that their services had been used (Troopergate) to shield Gov. Bill Clinton while he was having at it with sundry ladies, in which connection Brock mentioned the name Paula. The article prompted Paula Jones to identify herself as a failed object of Mr. Clinton's lust, and to file suit. That suit prompted Mrs. Jones's lawyers to depose defendant Clinton. This was an effort to impeach (a lawyer's term) his credentials by establishing that philandering was one of Mr. Clinton's proclivities, like national health care and balanced budgets. To do this, they came up with Mrs. Willey, who testified to her own experience in the White House; and, from the general investigation, the name of Monica Lewinsky pops up. The rest, as everybody knows, becomes an apparently endless serial for the *National Enquirer*.

Now Mr. Brock went on to write a book about Hillary Clinton (publisher's advance: $1 million) in which he rather surprised his cheerleaders by proclaiming that Mrs. Clinton had been misrepresented and maligned. This departure from ideological orthodoxy upset some conservative reviewers, who criticized the book. Brock objected vehemently to the criticism and, so to speak, announced that he would no longer associate himself with the conservative line or with *The American Spectator*. He also revealed that he was gay and seemed to encourage the impression that criticisms of him stemmed from this other departure from the straight conservative scene.

Now appears in the pages of *Esquire*—this is the item in the current news—a five-page fawning open letter to President Clinton from David Brock which, except for the author, the subject, and the style, reminds one of the *Confessions* of St. Augustine. What were David Brock's motives in writing the original piece? "I wasn't hot for this story in the interest of good government or serious journalism. I wanted to pop you right between the eyes." That is not only bad syntax, it is bad thought. It doesn't matter that a writer should dislike the person he is writing about provided the writer doesn't misrepresent the facts. David Halberstam obviously disliked the people he wrote about in his book *The Best and the Brightest*, but he didn't make up any facts, and nobody has proved that what Brock wrote was different from what he had been told by the troopers he interviewed.

Mr. Brock goes on. "I don't know what's happened between you and Monica Lewinsky. . . . But regardless of how the drama plays out, as the first reporter who leered into your sex life, I do know that I didn't learn a damn thing worth knowing about your character." That's very odd, because Mr. Brock seems to be saying that it is no clue to the character of a governor if it is established that a) he is an adulterer, and therefore a violator of a public pledge made before an altar, and b) he abetted his adultery by the use of state officials, and c) he denied what, at least in the case of Gennifer Flowers, turned out to be true by his own admission.

But hold on. "If sexual witch-hunts become the way to win in politics, if they become our politics altogether, we can and will destroy everyone in public life." My goodness. This is a venture in cultural genocide, no less. Destroy everyone in public life! Close your eyes, think hard, ask yourself: Can you come up with the name of one person in public life who hasn't, as far as anyone knows, committed adultery? Let alone harnessed public servants to shield his activity? Let alone lied about the entire matter?

Mr. Brock uses language carelessly, which, to stretch a metaphor, is adulterous activity in a writer. The reason to deplore a witch-hunt is that there are no witches. The hunt for impropriety in public figures is very different from the hunt for witches; impropriety in public figures is much less than the universal Mr. Brock hints at, but much more than the hunt for witches, inasmuch as impropriety does exist, and not only among public officials, but also among published writers. □

*"So much for the 'No New Commandments' pledge."*

## Misfire on Puerto Rico

NEW YORK, MARCH 6

The Honorable Don Young from Alaska should be invited to spend more time in his home state, on matters that concern his home state, and maybe figure out a way to sell igloos to Puerto Rico, with which he is so concerned these days. Mr. Young worked four hard years to get a bill passed by the House of Representatives, succeeding the other day by a margin of one (1) vote. The bill? It is slightly complicated, but the long and short of it is that we are to spend $10 million to force a referendum on Puerto Rico to push it toward statehood. The cost of that poll is the analogue of being sent out to cut a rod with which to be switched. Why on earth should the Congress of the United States plead with Puerto Rico to become the 51st state?

Now the good news is that the Senate almost certainly will not act on anything so halfhearted as a 209–208 vote in the House (177 Republicans opposed, 31 Democrats opposed). People who have a burning curiosity to know how the Puerto Ricans would react to such a poll can satisfy it by picking up a copy of the *World Almanac*. A poll was taken in 1993, and 48 per cent of Puerto Ricans voted to continue as a commonwealth nation, 46 per cent voted for statehood, the balance for independence. Nor does the vote by the House bind future Congresses if ever a petition for annexation were formally to be filed. At that point, Congress would face the problem afresh, as a constitutional matter, although there would be a psychological overhang tracing to the



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vote on March 4. It isn't nice to invite Suzy to apply to join the Debutante Ball and then to turn her down when she does apply.

We are talking about an island population of 3.8 million people, plus 2.7 million who live in the United States, 250,000 of them in Florida. The average annual income in Puerto Rico is $7,900, which is less than one-half the average in Mississippi, the poorest state in the Union. Sixty per cent of Puerto Ricans receive welfare payments from Washington. We spend $10 billion a year on Puerto Rico, net, and if statehood were to come, the figure is estimated to rise to $14 billion. Why should this be, inasmuch as if Puerto Rico were a state, normal tax laws would apply? Because if Puerto Rico did pay taxes, the estimate is that these would bring in $49 million, which is a very small percentage of $14 billion (one thousand four hundred million).

But for the big booming United States of America, that isn't a crazy amount of money, is it? The cost of seven B2s. But very different points should be considered, and these have to do with the cultural question.

In the United Nations, the Soviet bloc, during Evil Empire days, regularly denounced the United States for its colonialist policies, citing Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands as oppressed sites of American imperialism. In 1973, serving as public member in the General Assembly, I had the duty to remind the Soviets and their satellites that Puerto Rico regularly opted for a continuation of its current status, with an infinitesimally small vote for independence. The native language in Puerto Rico is—and, barring such an occupation as Spain imposed on Aztecland in the sixteenth century, will continue to be—Spanish. Seventy-five per cent of Puerto Ricans speak only Spanish, and, with a few exceptions, school courses are taught in Spanish. Those who believe in a single national language hope to make progress against the fatalistic bilingualism that cripples so many young Hispanics in American schools. It would be a body blow to that reform movement to ratify constitutionally the annexation of an alien culture. A suggested amendment to the House bill that would have required Puerto Rico (somehow) to become English-speaking was shot down, in part because the White House let out word that Mr. Clinton would veto the bill if it arrived on his desk with such a provision in it. It is a pity that Newt Gingrich joined Dick Gephardt in promoting a movement which the Puerto Rican people themselves have rejected. □

## *The Brits (Some Brits) Protest*

NEW YORK, MARCH 3

There was a big march into London on Sunday, already termed "historic." The numbers were very large (an estimated 250,000), the complaints myriad, the catalyst, a pending bill which would outlaw "hunting with hounds." The objective is to put an end to hunting foxes. The ostensible reason is a concern by some animal lovers for foxes. The real concern, in the opinion of one analyst: "the men with red coats and black caps who ride around on horses." It is class-struggle time for many, and it was to be expected that the new friends of foxes should come in from the Labour Party. A free vote (meaning, one unrestricted by party discipline) reveals that of the 417 Labour Members of Parliament, only 2 will vote to leave the sport alone.

The invasion from rural England, though triggered by foxes, was a general cry for attention by English country-dwellers. They are angry because of the foxes (20,000 Britons are employed as accessories to the sport), angry because they do not believe enough government money is being spent on country roads; they are hurting from the economic effects of Mad Cow disease, and they are suffering from the solid British pound, which hurts exports. Unifying the marchers was resentment, resentment of the overlordship of Urban over Rural. And nothing highlights this more than the proposed "right to roam" legislation, which would give anybody—everybody—the right to stroll over rural property, though presumably not to smoke cigarettes while doing so because the British are on the same bandwagon as Americans on that subject. The idea that utter strangers have the right to promenade over your property is offensive to deeply entrenched British instincts

But the fox business is the key question. "Will they," I asked a keen British man of affairs, "then call for outlawing bird-shooting?" He thought this inevitable. Why protect foxes and not birds? He then leaned over and spoke in tones that suggest: "Don't let out what I am about to tell you." He proceeded to ask me had I ever seen an abattoir in operation. No, I said, but in my youth I read Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*, which was one of the first American twentieth-century muckraking books, about the horrible end of cattle in the slaughterhouses of Chicago. "Well, when they notice what happens in abattoirs there will be a serious movement against the eating of meat."

The perception that the fox-hunting ban is directed more specifically to frustrating fox hunters than to sheltering foxes stems from the language, the prohibition on "hunting with hounds." That is so because there is a second way to do essentially the same thing, which is the "drag" hunt. The procedure there is to take the carcass of a fox, presumably one executed by a needle injected into his leg very early in the morning, and drag it along a route, for five or six or ten miles, which a few hours later will entice the hounds to lead the hunters galloping through field and forest until—the carcass is discovered. Drag hunts are widely used out of concern not so much over the last minutes of the fox's life as for the dispatch of the sport. Waiting around for the hounds to catch the scent can make for very long mornings, though not so long as to dispirit George Washington, who hunted three times a week, when not engaged in fighting off Brits who sought to interfere in the life and manners of Americans, even as now they interfere with the lives of their own citizens.

Commentary on the subject has been lively. The abolitionists, the *Sunday Telegraph* comments, "tend to fall prey to the anthropomorphic myth of animal rights. Mr. Blair himself has repeatedly declared that with every right must come a duty. Perhaps the Labour MPs so keen to defend the rights of the fox could explain what corresponding duties these animals accept."

The dependably cranky Auberon Waugh concluded his column on Sunday's march, "What distinguishes these nice people [who have tender thoughts about animals] from unpleasant ones holding the same opinions, is the latter's element of self-righteousness. Unpleasant, sanctimonious people are to be avoided because they are boring. What distinguishes the merely unpleasant from the fascists is the latter's desire to stop anyone from hunting. These people—the fascists—should be insulted, kicked, and thrown into the nearest river whenever possible." Those of us more moderate in disposition would favor throwing them into the river only every other day. □

*(Universal Press Syndicate)*



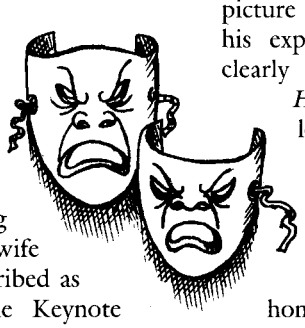
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# THE MISANTHROPE'S CORNER

FLORENCE KING

"I WANT to spend more time with my family" has long been the failed politician's favorite cover story, but Trad Vals hypocrisy reached a batty zenith on Ash Wednesday when Congressman Bill Paxon gave up his identity for Lent.

Two years ago Paxon and his wife, Congressman Susan Molinari, were the GOP's "golden couple." Beaming partners in a two-career marriage brimming with give-and-take, they gained national fame with their cloying performance at the 1996 Republican National Convention when Paxon sat in the gallery taking care of the baby as wife Susan, invariably described as "perky," delivered the Keynote Address.



The first fissure came last year when Mrs. Molinari abruptly quit Congress before her term was up to anchor *CBS News Saturday Morning*, giving as one of her reasons a wish to spend more time with her family.

Two months later, Paxon joined the plot to topple Newt Gingrich in hopes of succeeding him as Speaker, only to emerge as the scapegoat when the plot failed. But soon another plot beckoned: toppling Dick Armey and succeeding him as Majority Leader, which would give Paxon another crack at the Speakership when Newt resigned to run for President in 2000.

Paxon was toppling away, working the phones and lining up votes, when suddenly it hit him: he didn't want to be Speaker, he didn't want to be Majority Leader, he didn't even want to be a congressman. It meant nothing, nothing, you hear me, nothing! He had been in politics all his adult life starting with the Erie County legislature when he was just out of college, but now all that was over, over, I tell you, over! The upshot of his epiphany was his stunning Ash Wednesday announcement that he was quitting Congress and turning his back on politics forever to spend more time with his family.

Except that he didn't put it quite that way. As his plangent explanations over the next several days proved, it wasn't so much his family that he longed to spend time with, but his baby, Susan Ruby, now 21 months old. The baby's mother, however perky, entered into the picture only insofar as she lent force to his explanations, as when he told a clearly nauseated Chris Matthews on *Hardball*: "I saw Susan getting lots of hugs and kisses and I wanted my share."

After his wife quit Congress, he told the *Washington Post*, "she never looked back, and she is happy with being home with her daughter and that inspired me too." Furthermore, it was his wife's trips to New York to prepare for her Saturday show that had made him realize what he was missing: "Thursday and Friday I'm home alone with the baby and I realize that's what I wanna do. . . . It's out of pure joy I'm doing this. . . . I'd rather be home."

Much of his *Post* interview consisted of what he said to himself. "I asked myself, 'How do you possibly do justice to this child and still do the job?'" He thought he might be like an old firehorse, able to respond automatically to his congressional duties once he heard the bell, but no. "This horse wanted to be in the stables, with the colt."

His wife had been great about his career, he hastened to point out, willing to "make allowances in her schedule" if he had run for Leader, but "it is still very hard to have a young family, with Susan going off to New York for her work." Besides, they wanted to have more children, and so he asked himself, "Who is going to raise the babies?"

He made the rounds talking obsessively about his daughter, doing such a bang-up Stella Dallas schtik that the ghost of Barbara Stanwyck must have turned green with envy. Facing Washington reporters, he announced gulpily, "This is not a fall. This is a rise." He told his fellow members of Congress, "This little girl has helped me turn what has always been unthinkable, leaving office, into an easy choice." When he addressed his staff in his office amid Susan Ruby's toys and playpen, "His voice cracked and trailed off. He began to cry. He took a handkerchief from his pocket and dabbed his eyes."

At press conferences in his constituencies of Buffalo and Rochester, he was absorbed in the baby. "At both stops, Paxon basked in her antics. At both stops, he choked with emotion." Over and over he reminded audiences how time-consuming is the job of Majority Leader, reiterating, "It's not fair to my 21-month-old daughter."

Asked what she thought of it all, Mrs. Molinari made a suitably perky reply: "As an American I am sorry. As a wife and mother I couldn't be happier." In one sense she probably meant it since she now has a full-time, native-born nanny, but even the perky can recognize a hostile takeover when they see one.

IF Paxon had anything left in him of the Irishmen in his own ancestry or the Italian men in his wife's, he would order her to get her perky tush back in that house and raise her child. But being a New Man shaped by the creeping feminization promoted by the GOP at Convention '96, he is punishing his careerist mate by out-housewifing her. She quit Congress? He not only quit Congress but the Leadership as well. She wants to spend more time with the baby? He's going to spend so much time with the baby that he'll look like a politician with a constituency of one: Poot Paxon, the Baby's Friend. And don't bet on him getting a job. At the rate he's going his next statement may be "My place is in the home."

The marriage will probably break up, but what of little Susan Ruby? Paxon predicts, "Twenty years from now, my daughter won't give a hoot if I was Speaker or Majority Leader or on a highway crew. She wants to know if her daddy's there."

Don't be so sure. Status helps. The style and flair that made Tallulah Bankhead were not the dowry of a road mender: her father was Speaker of the House. In any case, faint heart never won fair lady; Susan Ruby may well grow up to despise him.

I know I do. If he's the New Man, I'll take Vlad the Impaler. □

*Miss King is the author of* The Florence King Reader *and other books.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# PATTERN PULLS IT ALL TOGETHER

There's nothing like pattern to liven up your rooms. And with Milliken's coordinated patterns, you have options of wall-to-wall carpet, Rugets™ brand area rugs and decorative area rugs, so you can create tasteful combinations for a unique look throughout your home. Plus, pattern hides soil and wear, so it's the practical and elegant choice for your floors.

MILLIKEN

www.millikencarpet.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE BOMBAY SAPPHIRE MARTINI. AS ENVISIONED BY MICHAEL GRAVES.

POUR SOMETHING PRICELESS.

Bombay® Sapphire Gin © [illegible] Carillon Importers, Ltd., Teaneck, NJ. 40% Alc./Vol. (80 Proof)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED